





## HOME NEWS

## Mr Orme wins Opposition support in denunciation of action by 'unrepresentative' Ulster Workers' Council

By Hugh Noyes  
Parliamentary Correspondent  
Westminster

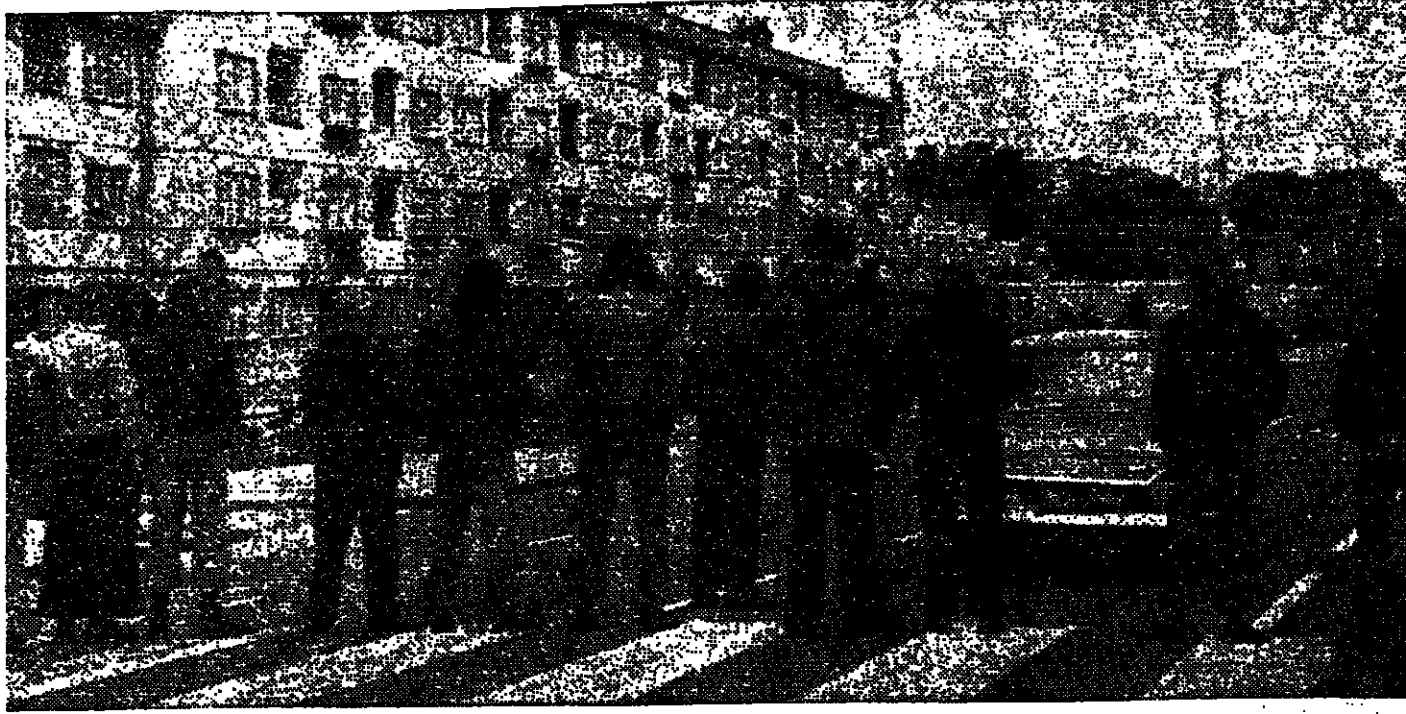
Mr Orme, Minister of State for Northern Ireland, in the Commons yesterday denounced the Ulster Workers' Council as having no democratic or trade union standing. He said the Government still did not know many of those who were active within it but some of those it did know about should not have been connected with such a body.

Mr Orme, who given the full backing of the Opposition for his determined support of the Constitution Act and for his resolve not to be blackmailed, said the council had told him that its purpose was to bring down the Sunningdale agreement and to force new Assembly elections at an early date. It intended to achieve that by a political strike limiting the supply of electricity and by dictating who should have it and who should not.

But Mr Orme told the House that the Government would not negotiate with the council. What it was asking for was "non-negotiable". Behind the people in Ulster who were wearing masks and carrying clubs at the moment, were guns which could be used in the very near future.

Both Mr Orme and Mr Pym, from the Conservative front bench, left MPs in no doubt about the gravity of the situation. Mr Pym said it was an attempt at disruption by a group of people, unselected and unrepresentative, using intimidation to force workers to stay home.

Both agreed that the disruption was based on the misrepresentation of the Sunningdale communiqué, which protected the province's majority and minority communities in every aspect of policy and made no threat to force them into a united Ireland.



Belfast street scene yesterday: supporters of the Ulster Workers' Council forming a barrier across Shore Road to stop traffic.

The minister made it clear that troops would be moved into the power stations if necessary to maintain essential services: they were already in a position to do that. He said Mr Mason and Secretary of State for Defence, Mr Rees had already taken steps to see that suitable technicians were available.

While the Conservative and Liberal Parties stood firmly behind the Government, however, Mr Orme got little encouragement from Northern Ireland MPs Captain Orr, Downing, South, one of the leading members of the United Ulster Unionist Coalition, urged more flexibility with recourse to the ballot box, and denied that the

Sunningdale agreement was being misrepresented.

The Rev Robert Bradford, Belfast, South, said Assembly elections were the only means of averting a civil war in which the Army would be opposed to the Protestants. Mr Orme retorted that the Ulster Workers' Council was at present giving the greatest support to the IRA. He wished Mr Bradford would condemn intimidation and the paramilitary forces at work instead of putting forward the view of the UUC.

Earlier, Mr Jenkins, Home Secretary, in a statement on bomb incidents in London at the weekend, said it would be prudent to assume that the country had not seen the last of the bombings. A high level of vig-

ilance must be maintained; the public could make a vital contribution by informing the police at once of any suspicious activities.

Clive Borrell writes: Bomb squad detectives were still at Heathrow airport last night checking and tightening security precautions after the explosion of a 100lb gaseous car-bomb in a parking area at the weekend. The squad, under Detective Chief Superintendent James Neville, carried out a minute examination of all potential terrorist target areas while other officers made spot-checks on vehicles entering and leaving the airport.

Scotland Yard said last night: "We urge the public not to relax their vigilance. Anything sus-

picious should be isolated immediately and the police called."

Insurance anomaly: The owners of the 40 cars damaged by the Heathrow explosion would have been better off if their vehicles had been blown up in Northern Ireland (the Press Association reports).

In Ulster owners so affected can claim compensation from the Northern Ireland Office under the Criminal Injuries to Property Act. But there is no similar act in Britain. The British Insurance Association said yesterday that the owners of the damaged Heathrow cars would have to claim from their insurance companies. Although the damage was not their fault, they would lose their no-claims bonuses.

Parliamentary report, page 10

## British Ambassador called to meet minister as concern in Dublin mounts

From Stewart Tondler  
Dublin

Dr Garret FitzGerald, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Ireland, yesterday met Sir Arthur Geisworthy, the British Ambassador, to discuss events in Northern Ireland as the Dublin Government kept a close check on developments in the province.

Today the Irish Cabinet will hold its weekly meeting and Northern Ireland will be high on the agenda but there has been no official comment or response so far.

It is understood that the Irish Government views the situation as extremely grave and is anxious that there should be no backing down by Mr Faulkner, Northern Ireland's Chief Executive, or by Britain.

Comments by Mr Roy Bradford, the province's Minister of the Environment, suggesting that there should be talks with the loyalists, were received with anger in Dublin. Government circles feel that the comment was made by someone aware of its effect in the Republic and Mr Bradford has been accused of trying to usurp Mr Faulkner's leadership.

Hope is placed on the plan

by Northern Ireland trade unionists to return to work and that the loyalists will stand down.

Agreement to the loyalist call for an autumn election was regarded by one Government official as almost a declaration of civil war because it would encourage the IRA and a suspicion that Britain was not fully supporting the Sunningdale agreement.

Dr FitzGerald is understood to have expressed concern to the British Ambassador at recent press comments by Mr William Craig, and Mr Seamus Smyth, political adviser to the UDA, on their response to the IRA's car bombs. The Dublin Government is worried that the statements might be incitement.

The final preparations for the publication of the report on the common enforcement of the law were also discussed in the hour-long meeting. The report is expected to appear on Thursday.

Mr Cosgrave, the Dublin Prime Minister, has not talked personally to Mr Wilson but he did discuss events and the car bombings on Friday with Mr Faulkner. There has been no further communication.

## Signs of division within Mr Faulkner's administration

Continued from page 1

were stolen and a policeman had to fire a shot in the air when he brought up a car which was carrying more than 50 young Protestants.

The period of anarchy was further extended when milk floats and food lorries were hijacked and set on fire, in spite of the instructions of the Ulster Workers' Council, which brought upon the strike in protest against the Sunningdale agreement.

Near Sandycrow I saw children and several middle-aged women looting a stolen milk lorry. In another part of Belfast gangs of youths invaded a milk distribution centre, smashed 40 crates, and sold the rest at 5p a pint to local people.

Shopkeepers, even in the centre of the city, were "asked" to close by well-dressed young men who gave the impression that they were on a patrol. The blinds were not pulled down.

The Government evidently intends that the Protestant community as a whole should make up its mind about the strike brought upon by the workers' council when it has seen its food supplies cut, transport gone, and the electricity supply almost closed.

Only a third of normal power was generated during the day, and the province for the third day in succession, endured cuts, each of up to eight hours.

The power supply had become so critical by last night that the Post Office asked subscribers to use their telephones only in emergency. Telephone services, including subscriber trunk dialling, may collapse within the next 24 hours unless the power supply is increased.

The political schemers lashed the whole day. Mr Rees held two meetings at Stormont Castle with General Sir Frank King, the GOC, and Mr James Flanagan, the chief constable. The Executive, under Mr Brian Faulkner, met for well over three hours.

Mr Rees also had two meetings with Mr Len Murray, the TUC general secretary, who may lead the trade unions' marches through east Belfast this morning in an attempt to

get workers back to their factories and shops.

Mr Murray apparently has no intention of mediating between the Government and the workers' council, which he regards as undemocratic and unrepresentative.

Mr Rees spent lunchtime talking with Mr Faulkner and Mr Gerard Pitt, his Social Democratic and Labour Party deputy, after addressing the full Executive in the morning.

There are signs that the members of the province's power-sharing Administration have begun to argue among themselves about the strike. On Sunday night, Mr Roy Bradford, Minister of the Environment, said he believed that the Secretary of State should reopen "lines of communication" with the strikers.

Mr Bradford's point, which he has made several times in the past—to the concern of his fellow ministers—is that the Sunningdale agreement, to which the strikers are objecting, cannot be implemented in full while so many Protestants are opposed to it.

He believes that it should be put forward in stages so that the province's power-sharing Administration can gradually agree to it.

That has embarrassed Mr Faulkner as much as it has the SDLP, but for different reasons. Mr Faulkner has repeatedly been hammering home his demand that no one in authority should talk to the strikers, a view he shares with Mr Rees.

The Vanguard Party, of course, accuses Mr Rees of stubbornness and Mr William Craig, the party's leader, said yesterday that the Secretary of State was responsible for the "very grim situation".

Mr Faulkner's backbenchers tried to lessen some of the tension in the evening by arguing that last week's vote in the Assembly, which prompted the strike, was not a vote in favour of signing the Sunningdale agreement. The amendment simply negated a motion by the loyalists in the Assembly rejecting Sunningdale.

## Government accused on attitude to women

By Our Political Staff

Mr Heath last night at the Government of an anti-attitude towards women's status and opportunities. Mr Heath, speaking in London, said that in just three and a half years the servative Government more rapid progress women's rights than a previous time in British history.

Now a question mark over so many of the changes that were being brought about. Where were we forward they are hanging the Leader of the Opposition.

"For example, what is the future of the anti-scheme; the most important scheme ever produced in the history of women and families, particularly the well off? Do they intend ahead with the equal opportunities Commission's proposal for ending discrimination on grounds of sex in employment, education and training?"

"In changing outdate rules and correcting anomalies in the whole of women's rights, as in so other areas ours was a gr-forming. Administration must get back on to that the earliest opportunity."

Mr Eldon Griffiths, Opposition spokesman on affairs, yesterday suggested Mr Rees, Secretary of State for Industry, seemed "almost brutally calculated to p the uncertainty of thousands of firms threatened with 'closure'."

In a statement issued in London, Mr Griffiths observed all who wished industry to prosper in Britain should agree that there was need to improve its structure, management and labour relations, as opposed to Mr Griffiths' imagination, even private enterprise, extend subsidies, nationalised industries, in 19- results of the main nation industries provided a lame record and no recommendation whatever for expanding ownership.

## Fine on man in breach of privilege case

Andrew Ravenhill, a 41-year-old technician, who had been arrested and charged with being drunk and disorderly, was charged with approaching Mr C. Loughlin, Labour MP for Gloucestershire, West. Mr Loughlin is hoping to secure an adjournment of the case.

Mr Ravenhill, of Moor Road, Filton, Bristol, was 510 at Staph Hill Magistrate's Court, near Bristol, yesterday for being drunk and disorderly. He had been arrested after he had told Mr Loughlin that he had been attacked by police. He said he was coming in for an appeal.

Earlier this month, Loughlin brought a breach of privilege complaint to the Commons against the technician, who had been arrested after he had told Mr Loughlin that he had been attacked by police. He said he was coming in for an appeal.

Burgee for cathedral. Last, Chichester, sent to Chichester Cathedral the Royal Yacht Sir Francis, on his voyage the world in 1966-67.

## Belfast trade unions call march to work

From a Staff Reporter  
Belfast

Northern Ireland's trade unions, which have been so fulsomely praised in the past for their attempts to smother sectarianism in the industrial life of the province, are likely to face their greatest test of influence this morning outside one of Belfast's bomb-battered railway stations on the docks. For at 6.45 am trade unionists from the shipyards and aircraft factories in the east of the city have been asked to gather at Queen's Quay under the shadow of the Harland and Wolff cranes and derricks to march to work in defiance of the five-day-old "loyalist" strike.

Even if there is no electric power, in which case the shipyards will automatically say idle, the unions intend to stage their parade through the streets and under the eyes of the Ulster Defence Association men on their barricades to show that, without fear of intimidation,

many people want to go back to their jobs. If they fail, then the trade unions in Northern Ireland are not going to be held in such quite high esteem over the coming months.

There are about 265,000 trade union members in Ulster, of whom more than three-quarters live in Belfast, a city in which quite high esteem over the coming months. There are about 265,000 trade union members in Ulster, of whom more than three-quarters live in Belfast, a city in which quite high esteem over the coming months.

In the shipyards, Mr Sandy Scott, chief shop steward, successfully, if only temporarily, kept the peace between the vast majority of Protestants and the 400 or so Roman Catholics who work together in east Belfast. His example was followed elsewhere.

In 1970, officials of the Tailors and Garment Workers' Union stood up to intimidation in the clothing factories in Northern Ireland. Mr Billy Wallace, local organizer of the union, told both the management and Protestant workers that Roman Catholic employees must have their jobs safeguarded. Mr Hugh Murphy, chief shop steward in Short's aircraft factory, in Belfast, has also asked his members to protect each other, whatever their religion. Even that, however, did not stop the erection of small Union Jacks on some of the work benches, a sure sign to any Roman Catholic that the men there were Protestants.

The march today (another is planned to leave Caslereagh Road for the nearest industrial estate at the same time) is being organized by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and it is to that body that many of the members of the Ulster Workers' Council,

the all-Protestant group that has called the strike, object. They say that the congress is too socialist and dedicated towards achieving a united Ireland, a belief that has led one Workers' Council spokesman to declare that anyone marching today "must be a United Ireland supporter or a communist".

The congress complains both Irish and British-based unions and has a Northern Ireland committee, a concession to the province's existence as a separate state. Whatever the Workers' Council says, the congress executives in Dublin seem to have little or no influence over the northern committee, and Mr William Bleasdale, northern regional officer, still apparently feels confident enough of his support to refer to the Workers' Council as "fascist, bully-boy tactics".

## Eire car bomb death toll now 29

From Stewart Tondler  
Dublin

The death toll in the car-bomb attacks in the Republic of Ireland rose yesterday to 29 when a woman injured in Dublin died in a city hospital. Her husband is still in hospital.

Such was the confusion that the police do not know in which street the woman, aged 59, received her injuries.

The announcement of the death, which takes Dublin's own total to 24 deaths, came as the first victims were being removed from the city's mortuary for burial.

It is now known that Dublin's deaths were caused by 300 lb of explosives, much of it an industrial type. The Irish Army's report shows that 50 lb was used in South Leinster Street, 100 lb in Parnell Street and 150 lb in Talbot Street.

By the end of the week Irish security forces along the border will number about 2,000. The arrival of 300 troops from the Middle East tomorrow. The intensification of security will put extra strain on the republic's army of 11,300. In the past year 5,600 soldiers took part in border duties as well as guarding prisons, public buildings and other duties.

## Five men deny murder of Irish senator

Senator William ("Billy") Fox of the Republic of Ireland, was shot dead when he interrupted a gang raiding the home of his fiancée's family, it was stated at the Special Criminal Court in Dublin yesterday.

The prosecution alleged that five men accused of the senator's murder were part of a gang of at least 12 armed and masked men who raided the house at Clones, co Monaghan, on March 11.

Before the court were James Francis McPhillips, aged 26, Sean McGortigan, aged 19, George Robert, aged 20, and Sean Kinsella, aged 28, and his brother Michael, aged 24, all with addresses in the border town of Clones.

All five denied murdering Senator Fox, aged 33, a Protestant member of Fine Gael, the leading party in the Dublin coalition Government. They also denied setting fire to the house of Mr Richard Coulson and the caravan of his son, George Robert, at Clones with intent to injure them. They further pleaded not guilty to the illegal possession of firearms. Charges against them of being members of the IRA were adjourned.

Mr George Coulson said he was sitting with his wife in his caravan on the farm when three masked and armed men burst in.

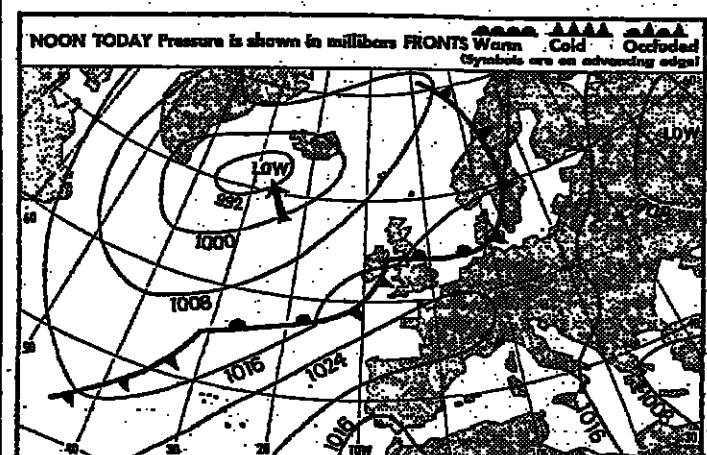
The men said they were looking for guns. He and his wife were taken at gunpoint to his father's farm, where they were pushed into a room. A little later a shot was heard.

The men then ran out of the front door. Later he heard eight to 10 shots coming from outside the farm.

The prosecution said Senator Fox's body, with gunshot wounds in the chest and foot, was found in a lane near the house.

The trial continues today.

## Weather forecast and recordings



Today  
Sun rises: 5.1 am  
Sun sets: 8.54 pm  
Moon rises: Moon sets:  
4.26 am 8.54 pm  
New moon: 9.34 pm

Lighting up: 9.24 pm to 4.30 am.  
High water: London Bridge, 1.49 am, 6.8m (22.3ft); 2.19 pm, 7.0m (22.9ft). Avonmouth, 7.34 am, 12.7m (41.5ft); 7.54 pm, 13.0m (42.6ft). Dover, 11.25 am, 6.2m (20.4ft); 11.42 pm, 6.4m (21.0ft). Hull, 6.27 am, 6.5m (21.6ft); 6.43 pm, 7.0m (22.9ft). Liverpool, 11.32 am, 8.5m (27.9ft); 11.55 pm, 8.6m (28.2ft).

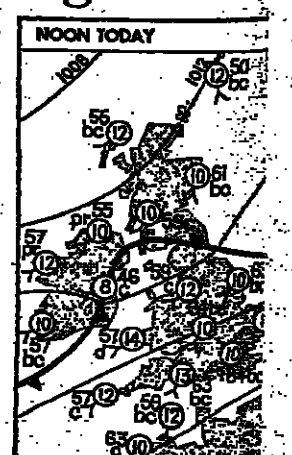
An anticyclone will persist to S of Britain, but troughs of low pressure will affect N areas.

Area forecasts:  
London, East Angles, central S, SE England, Midlands, Channel Islands: Mostly dry, sunny spells; wind SW, light or moderate; max temp 19°C or 20°C (66°F to 68°F).

SW England, S Wales: Rather cloudy with coastal drizzle; wind SW, moderate or fresh; max temp 16°C (61°F).

WEATHER REPORTS YESTERDAY MIDDAY: c, cloud; d, drizzle; f, fair; h, rain; s, sun; sz, snow.

Area	Temp	Wind	Cloud	Temp	Wind	Cloud
London	12	SW	100	12	SW	100
Edinburgh	10	SW	100	10	SW	100
Glasgow	10	SW	100	10	SW	100
Belfast	10	SW	100	10	SW	100
Cardiff	10	SW	100	10	SW	100
Exeter	10	SW	100	10	SW	100
Manchester	10	SW	100	10	SW	100
Newcastle	10	SW	100	10	SW	100
Nottingham	10	SW	100	10	SW	100
Sheffield	10	SW	100	10	SW	100
Southampton	10	SW	100	10	SW	100
Stirling	10	SW	100	10	SW	100
Wolverhampton	10	SW	100	10	SW	100
York	10	SW	100	10	SW	100



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Stirling	10	SW	100	10	SW	100
Wolverhampton	10	SW	100	10	SW	100
York	10	SW	100	10	SW	100

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on attack  
to work

HOME NEWS

# Suspended jail term and £5,000 fine for former NCB chief

Justice Waller said that because of the gravity of the case, Mr. Sales, of the North-eastern division of the National Coal Board, was fined £5,000 and suspended from his post for 12 months. He had been charged with accepting gifts from John Poulson, a former director of the company, who had been convicted of fraud.

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# Government action is urged to save NHS

By John Roper, Medical Reporter

The Government must mount an immediate rescue operation to save the National Health Service, Dr. Derek Stevenson, secretary of the British Medical Association, said yesterday.

Dr. Stevenson said that the Government was in a "very difficult position" and that it was "essential" that it should take "immediate action" to save the NHS.



Three student nurses delivering a pipe of peace for Mr Wilson at 10 Downing Street in the hope of early agreement on nurses' pay.

# Inquiry into RSPCA asked to limit detail

Mr Charles Sparrow, QC, chairman of the independent inquiry into complaints against the RSPCA, said yesterday that the inquiry panel was concerned over a "curious" request from the society's chairman to keep details to a minimum.

Mr Sparrow, speaking at the London inquiry as Mr John Hobhouse, chairman of the society, gave evidence, said he had received a letter from Mr Hobhouse just before the inquiry began.

# MP wants to see law chief over speeches

From Christopher Walker, Newcastle upon Tyne

The controversy over alleged local government corruption in the North-east deepened yesterday when Mr Edward Milne, Independent Labour MP for Blyth, demanded an urgent meeting with Mr Samuel Silkin, QC, the Attorney General.

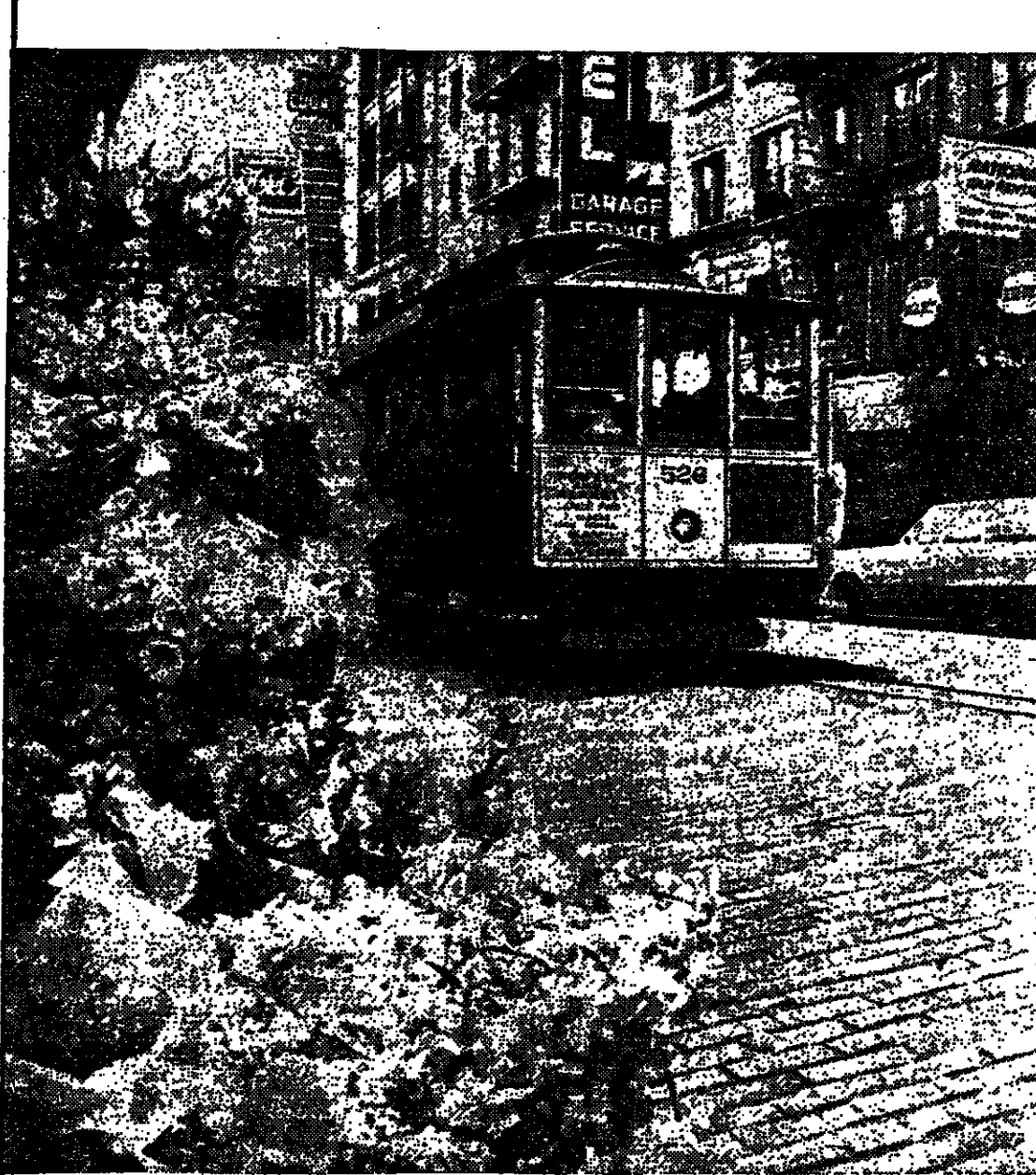
At his home near Newcastle upon Tyne, Mr Milne said that he would be asking the Attorney General to study transcripts of two speeches made at Saturday's meeting of the Northern Regional Council of the Labour Party.

# Teachers fear clever pupils may suffer

Less able pupils benefited from the change to mixed-ability classes and the report says that in most schools there was an all-round improvement in general behaviour. Most of the schools that took part in the survey said they had given up streaming to avoid "the creation of a stink group with a low stream mentality".

Despite opposition from some members of staff, especially teachers of French and mathematics, all the schools surveyed said they intended to continue with unstreamed classes.

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# P'son cleared causing filly harm

Mr. Deane Connamon, MP for Mansfield, and other young men were charged with causing filly harm. The case was heard at the Mansfield Magistrates' Court.

Mr. Connamon, 45, and his son, James, 17, were charged with causing filly harm. The case was heard at the Mansfield Magistrates' Court.

# 'Ecologist' men practising what they preach down on their farm in Cornwall

From a Staff Reporter, Wadebridge, Cornwall

Last year the men who run The Ecologist magazine left London and set up their headquarters in a peaceful Cornish village. Mr Peter Bunyard, joint editor, has exchanged London living for the life of a navy-journalist and a subsistence farmer. He milks his cows and feeds the pigs before going to the office. Afterwards he grinds the corn, churns the butter, builds walls, fences and ditches.

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## HOME NEWS

# End of jail sentences for the young urged in report by Home Office advisory council

By Peter Evans  
Home Affairs Correspondent

Much more treatment of young adult offenders in the community is proposed in a report published today by the Home Secretary's Advisory Council on the Penal System.

After reviewing the treatment of young offenders aged 17 to 21, the council recommends the abolition of the present custodial sentences of imprisonment, borstal training and reference to detention centres. Instead, there would be a new form of custodial sentence, the Custody and Control Order, with the three types of establishments merged to handle it.

The report also proposes a stronger non-custodial sentence for young adults not at present sentenced in the community. This would be the Supervision and Control Order, enforced by the probation and after-care service.

Although every member of the council signed the main report, there are reservations and dissent by some of them on specific points about the best way of implementing the broad general aim.

Many probation officers have expressed misgivings about some of the contents of the report, "leaked" before publication. They have expressed fears that some proposals could make them more like mobile prison officers. Today Mr Jenkins, Home Secretary, will give his first response to the report and announcing arrangements for consultation about it.

The council in its report recognizes the growing awareness of the difficulties in preparing

young adults in custody to difficulties facing them on release.

Since 1945, the issues with which the borstal system has had to deal have radically changed, with the result that its success has become less marked in terms of reconviction rates and its philosophy more open to question.

Research and experiment, both in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, appear to indicate that, for offenders of comparable background, time spent in custody cannot be shown to produce any better results than supervision in the community.

Informed opinion now increasingly sees the period in custody as only one part of a continuous process, which should include supervision and control in the community.

The council says abolition of prison sentences for offenders under 21 will fulfil a long-standing aim of successive governments. In its place, and that of borstal and detention sentences, the custody and control order would be available to the courts for any offence, other than murder, for which an adult could be sent to prison.

Restrictions on the length of custodial sentences, which have complicated the task of the courts, would be removed.

Magistrates' courts would, as now, be limited to sentences of six months.

The Home Secretary would be responsible for release on licence after considering advice from a local licence advisory committee and, for longer sentences, also from the Parole Board.

An offender would have a statutory entitlement, subject to good behaviour, to release on licence when he had served two thirds of the term made under the order. But the council

would like to see maximum flexibility in the transfer of offenders from custody to supervision in the community and many offenders would probably be released sooner than that.

After release, an offender would be under supervision for the rest of the term of the order, subject to a minimum period of six months. During that time he would be liable to be recalled.

Sir Kenneth Younger was chairman of the council. Our Legal Correspondent writes: Out of the 19 members of the advisory council, no fewer than 12 expressed dissent or reservation from some of the main proposals of the report on young offenders.

Four members of the committee, including Lady Wootton of Abinger and Mr Louis Blom-Cooper, QC, chairman of the Howard League for Penal Reform, feel that the report should have gone much further. They said: "In particular, we think it excessively preoccupied with custodial treatment. In our view, custody ought never to be inflicted unless this is indisputably necessary for the protection of the public or there are clear advantages that can be secured only by removal from the community."

"Treatment in custody has demonstrably failed for many young offenders, as the high figures for recidivism testify, and as the report itself acknowledges. It is at best a costly way of achieving very little, and all too often has only negative consequences, inasmuch as it disturbs the offender's personal and social roots, as well as interfering with his employment."

The authors specifically dissent from the proposals for restricted release orders, intermediate detention and automatic remission.

In another note of dissent, four committee members, including Mr Justice Waller and Sir Leon Radzinowicz, recently retired head of the Institute of Criminology at Cambridge, reject the proposals in the report for introducing temporary detention for 72 hours for breach of an order.

They contend that an arrest for such a breach would be based on the opinion of the supervisor of the offender. "Arrest, which is based on opinion is arbitrary, and the fact that it is limited to 72 hours, is backed by a magistrate's warrant and is made under the authority of an Act of Parliament does not prevent it from being arbitrary. We have fought against arbitrary power for centuries. It should not be introduced in however limited a manner under the guise of penal reform."

Lady James of Rusholme and Professor Nigel Walker, the present head of the Institute of Criminology, dissent from the report's recommendation that custody and control orders should not be subject to being suspended.

They say: "It seems to us a cardinal principle of sentencing that unless there is some overriding consideration such as the protection of the public, sentences ought to try every measure short of custody before resorting to it. One such measure is the suspended custodial sentence."

Young Adult Offenders. Report of the Advisory Council on the Penal System. (Stationery Office, £1.65).



Carla Lane, right, creator of "The Liver Birds", the BBC Television series, with Nerys Hughes and Polly James, who star in the series, at a luncheon yesterday after Miss Lane had been named author of the best comedy television show of the year written specially for a female star. Miss Lane received £500; Miss Hughes and Miss James each received £250.

## Pat Arrowsmith jailed for 18 months

Pat Arrowsmith, aged 44, the peace campaigner, was sentenced at the Central Criminal Court yesterday to 18 months' imprisonment on being found guilty of trying to persuade troops away from their duties.

Miss Arrowsmith, of Middle Lane, Eborsey, Leeds, had denied that on September 22, 1973, she maliciously tried to seduce a member of HM Forces from his duty. She had also denied attempting to incite disaffection by possessing leaflets headed "Some information for British soldiers" which contained an offence under the Incitement and Disaffection Act.

She was sentenced to 18 months concurrent on the two charges.

Judge Abdele, QC, passing sentence, said her: "You put yourself in a situation to try to make yourself a political martyr. I do not regard you as such."

## Trickster may get sentence of 9½ years

From Our Correspondent  
Winchester

A confidence trickster who was said to have preyed on elderly people, standing their hard-earned savings, was warned by Judge Broderick, QC, at Winchester Crown Court yesterday that he might be jailed for nine and a half years.

Sentence was adjourned for a social inquiry report on Daniel Ruff, aged 40, of St George's Square, Portsmouth, who pleaded guilty to eight deception charges. He asked for 62 other offences to be taken into consideration, all concerning pensioners more than 70 years of age.

Judge Broderick said: "This is one of the most appalling cases I have ever had to deal with. It is my present intention to send him to prison for nine and a half years. The sentence I propose is not so much a punishment as a way of protecting the public from him for a very substantial period."

## Police chief dies from gunshot wounds

From Our Correspondent  
Kendal

Supt Alfred Harrison, head of the Kendal subdivision of Cumbria police, died in hospital yesterday after being found at the police station suffering from gunshot wounds. Four play is not suspected.

Mr Harrison, who was promoted at the weekend from chief inspector, was injured by a gunman in 1965 during an arrest attempt on Oxenholme railway station near Kendal.

## Former Clay Cross mer resign because of ill health

From Our Correspondent  
Chesterfield

The secretary and the treasurer of the new North-East Derbyshire District Council, Mr Frank Green and Mr William Casterton, have resigned because of ill health. They say it was aggravated by having to work for the Clay Cross councillors who defied the Conservative Government's Housing Finance Act.

Until April 1 Mr Green was clerk to the now defunct Clay Cross Urban District Council and Mr Casterton was its chief financial officer. The 11 members of the Labour Council refused to raise rents in accordance with the Act and were eventually disqualified from office.

Mr Green and Mr Casterton say that for nearly two years they have had the constant worry of being ordered by the 11 rebels to do things that they feared were illegal. At one stage

## In brief

### Passport start for Ms women

Women are to be able to use the prefix Ms (pronounced on their passports. The P Office said yesterday it Foreign Office had approved title, which does not whether a user is married or single.

Julia Tait, aged 33, an ardent campaigner to be recognized, said: "The government's departure from now to let us use 'fix'."

### Former matron jailed

Mrs Elizabeth Marshall, 33, a former old people's nurse of Inglewood, Dunfermline, Fife, was jailed at Dunfermline Court yesterday for three months for the murder of Miss Ann, aged 23, a typist of Thorpe, Lancashire, pleaded guilty.

### 'Life' for killing

Brian Lloyd, aged 18, Field Road, Farworth, Walsby, sentenced Manchester Crown Court yesterday to three months' imprisonment for the murder of Miss Ann, aged 23, a typist of Thorpe, Lancashire, pleaded guilty.

### Silver for captain

Captain Jack Bent Swinmore Lane, 1 Yorkshire, has been awarded a special silver medal Royal Society of Arts standing seaman's ship in rescuing 11 lives of an abandoned ship.

### 15 in plane crash

Twelve passengers and three crew members of a Heron aircraft of Aviation, Norwich, crashed yesterday, wrecking the carriage.

### Helicopter rescue

Mr Leonard Gore, age 40, Thundersley, Essex, was rescued by a helicopter Cullin peak in Skye, injuring his leg on a climb.

### Air strike over

British Airways loaders at Heathrow air strike since Saturday suspended the protest, their stoppage, which or delayed European flights.

### Paper strike ends

Journalists at the Telegraph, Kettering, ended an 11-day strike dismissed colleague, Reinecke, aged 29, reinstated.

### Library topped out

A £900,000 library at the first big library project Leeds University for 3 was topped out yesterday.

## BBC increase actors' pay

New minimum rates will give actors and performers an increase of £18 a day have been agreed between Equity and BBC. Our Arts Reporter writes in light entertainers' programmes also will get a

The BBC is extending time by up to two hours increasing the programme employment facilities for Equity. The union is calling a new agreement with the vision.

# Nearly a million businesses are affected by the changes to Stage 3 of the Price Code

## Is yours one of them?

These new controls, strengthening Stage 3 of the Price Code, took effect by May 6th. Every person running a business should know them and should take action where necessary.

The main provisions are:

### Manufacturing and Service Industries

All Companies. A price may not be increased under the allowable cost provisions within 3 months of the last increase in the price of the product in question or of one of the same group of related products.

Exceptions include cases:

- where the increase in price permitted by the Code is at least 10%;
- where raw materials and fuel and power account for 75% of total costs;
- where these costs amount to 50% of total costs and the permitted price increase is at least 5%.

Category I and Category II Companies. (Manufacturing and service industries with domestic sales of over £5m p.a.)

Price increases under certain escalation or variation of price clauses introduced after 25th March 1974 for transactions between manufacturers and distributors or domestic consumers must be pre-notified to the Price Commission.

Category II Companies. (Manufacturers with domestic sales of £5m-£50m p.a., service industries with domestic sales of £5m-£20m p.a.)

The pre-notification period for price increases is extended to 28 days.

### Distributors

Wholesalers, retailers, and other distributors should cut their gross profit margin reference levels by 10% so long as this does not reduce net profit margins to a level more than one quarter below the reference level.

- This restriction does not apply to distributors engaged mainly in retailing with annual sales of less than £250,000 or to other distributors with annual sales of less than £500,000.

Re-pricing. Retailers should not increase the price of goods that are or have been displayed for sale to reflect the increased cost of replacement stock.

Exceptions include:

- goods on which the average stockturn is less than 10 a year;
- price increases directly resulting from the withdrawal of special offers.

All businesses should abide by the Price Code as now amended. This advertisement is intended as a guide only and further information can be obtained from the Price Commission Centres.

### Price Commission Centres

Office for Scotland 3rd Floor, 440 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow G2 3NS. Tel: 041-332 6346 West Midlands Region Bayliss House, Hurst Street, Birmingham B5 4BS. Tel: 021-622 3541/4 London Region 2nd Floor, Wingate House, Shaftesbury Avenue, London W1V 7AE. Tel: 01-439 4401 Eastern Region Kett House, Station Road, Cambridge CB1 2JX. Tel: Cambridge 59171/4 (STD code 0223) South East Region Sussex House, High Street, Crawley RH10 1YR. Tel: Crawley 373524 (STD code 0293) East Midlands Region Spur E Block 6, Government Buildings, Chalfont Drive, Nottingham NG8 3RP. Tel: Nottingham 291111 (STD code 0602) Yorkshire & Humberside Region 3rd Floor, Royal Exchange House, Boar Lane, Leeds LS1 5NS. Tel: Leeds 38133 (STD code 0532) Northern Region Gunner House, Neville Street, Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 5DN. Tel: Newcastle upon Tyne 611331 (STD code 0632) North West Region Warwick House, 7 Warwick Road, Old Trafford, Manchester M16 0HP. Tel: 061-472 6911/4 South West Region 12th Floor, Frome House, Rupert Street, Bristol BS1 2QN. Tel: Bristol 256727 (STD code 0272) Office for Wales 4th Floor, Westminster House, 95/97 St. Mary Street, Cardiff CF1 1DX. Tel: Cardiff 41532/4 (STD code 0222) Office for Northern Ireland 3rd Floor, Midland Hotel, Whitla Street, Belfast BT15 1JU. Tel: 0232 740493/4.



ISSUED BY THE PRICE COMMISSION



WEST EUROPE

# Victory of M Giscard d'Estaing welcomed with undisguised relief by EEC and Nato officials

on Roger Barthoud  
Paris, May 20  
The victory of M Giscard d'Estaing in the French presidential election was greeted with undisguised relief by EEC and Nato officials today.  
Finance Minister, he has been admired in Brussels for his lucidity and cool blend of pragmatism and pragmatism. It is expected that he will take some of the more radical measures out of French foreign policy, especially in regard to NATO.  
Mitterrand and his Communist partners would have an unpredictable and unfavourable factor in an already stormy European Community, and at Nato no one had the prospect of sharing with a partially Communist government.  
His desire to keep Reds away from the Nato had been made embarrassingly clear in his reaction today of Dr Luns, the secretary-general of Nato. He said he was glad that the French had shown their sense of responsibility, expressing their aversion to any form of indirect extremism.  
The reference to the withdrawal of the French People was not unexpected.  
One expects France's armed forces to be brought back soon to the integrated Nato command from which they withdrew them in 1966.

## Former leaders of Portugal fled to Brazil

Nicholas Ashford  
May 20  
Luis Americo, Tomas, and other former leaders of the Portuguese Revolution have fled to Brazil. The two men, ousted by the coup, were flown to Sao Paulo today in a Portuguese military aircraft from Madeira. They have been held in a Portuguese military camp for the last three and a half weeks. Their families remained in Portugal.  
The decision to exile the two was taken by the Portuguese military junta and not by the civilian Government. The two men, however, are said to have been divided by the process which would have divided the nation and could have certainly caused bad feeling among the two former supporters.  
Dr Castano, a former leader of the Portuguese Revolution, has been granted political asylum in Brazil, a Government spokesman today. Reuter.

## Paris alive with rumours about Giscard team

Continued from page 1  
Like it, just as he wanted to meet the president in a last formal meeting, once described as the "High Mass of the regime".  
Finally, there will be innovation in policy. Yesterday's election showed the country to be almost equally divided between right and left, and M Giscard d'Estaing is now more determined than ever to reconcile Frenchmen.  
"France," he said a few years ago, "wants to be governed from the centre." It is clear that at the moment the country wants to be governed from the left of centre.  
The question is whether he can do it. His difficulties, commentators agree, will be more social than financial or political. Politically, he has an even bigger majority in Parliament than M Mitterrand.  
The Gaullists, still the largest party, will support him loyally, but not unconditionally. M Mitterrand, one of their leaders, said last night. They will become more independent of the Government, but there seems no question of their refusing posts in it. Their executive committee was meeting at a meeting tonight just how far their support would go.  
Inflation, the biggest problem, demands more drastic and equitable treatment than M Giscard d'Estaing was willing to apply as Finance Minister.  
Finally, in the labour field, observers noted the relatively moderate tone of comments by trade union leaders last night. They will not challenge the Government right away, before the summer holidays, but the test will come in the autumn.  
M Giscard d'Estaing said last night that a new era had begun. One has ended for M Mitterrand. It seems unlikely that he will again be a candidate for the presidency, seven years hence, when he will be 63.  
With the voting returns in from the overseas territories today, the final race is M Giscard d'Estaing (13,394,413 (50.8 per cent), M Mitterrand 12,975,622 (49.2 per cent).  
Leading article, page 17



A police inspector, stripped of his trousers to prove he is not carrying firearms, takes refreshment to two gunmen holding two women hostage in a Geneva bank raid.

## Four girls held hostages

Göteborg, May 20.—A young gunman grabbed four girls held in a chemist's shop here today and demanded the release of a man jailed for his part in a similar bank robbery at a Stockholm bank last year.  
The young man, said to have been under the influence of drugs, fired a burst from a sub-machinegun as policemen ringed the building. No one was hurt.  
The man, according to the police, was demanding that Clark Olofsson should be freed from jail.  
The shots fired today were apparently to warn two of the hostages who tried to get out through a window. Police told the hostages not to make any further attempts to escape until they had talked with the gunman.—Reuter.

## EEC delays meeting on farming muddle

From David Cross  
Brussels, May 20  
A fresh attempt to reduce trade disruption in agricultural products between Italy and the rest of the European Economic Community has been postponed for a week.  
The European Commission hopes that the delay will enable it and member governments to devise new measures to limit the damage caused by the Italian Government's recent decision to curb certain imports as a means of correcting its balance of payments.  
Announcing the postponement at a press conference in Brussels today, Mr Pierre Lardinois, the Commissioner for agricultural policy, said he hoped that the commission would be able to agree on a new list of possible steps this week. These would be submitted to ministers of agriculture of the Nine, whose postponed meeting would now take place next Monday. The ministers had planned originally to meet tomorrow.  
Mr Lardinois said that the new measures would include changes in the border tax arrangements between Italy and the rest of the Community on all agricultural products and special additional measures for beef. The new arrangements would replace the present Italian scheme for a 50 per cent cash deposit scheme on agricultural imports and would be less disruptive to trade in farm products.  
As Mr Lardinois conceded at the press conference, West German exports of beef to Italy have been affected particularly severely at a time when West German cold storage plants are already filled to capacity with surplus beef stocks.  
The changes would provide an incentive for Italian farmers to produce more beef and discourage trade into Italy by reducing some of the export subsidies which farmers in other Community countries receive to compensate them for the de facto devaluation of the Italian lira and other currency changes.  
Mr Lardinois made clear that the Commission wanted to avoid any conflict with the Italian Government, or indeed with any other member government, over Italian import curbs. This was interpreted here as a sign that the Commission intends to table new measures only when it has secured tentative approval of its plans. This process will involve contacts with the West Germans, in particular, whose farm trade with Italy has suffered most from the Italian import restrictions.  
After the distal failure of foreign and agriculture ministers to agree a fortnight ago on any way to limit trade disruption, the Commission badly needs a display of unity to restore a little of its lost self-confidence. This is clearly one of the principal reasons why Mr Lardinois travelled to Rome last Friday for talks with Italian Government leaders and why he plans to meet the West Germans for similar discussions later this week.  
Our Agricultural Correspondent writes: Postponement of the meeting looks like helping British pig producers. The special subsidy to meet pig producers' present market losses was due to be cut from 50p a score lb to 30p at the end of May, but Brussels approval is needed for any change in the rate.  
Sir Henry Plumb, president of the National Farmers' Union, had a two-hour meeting with Mr Peart, Minister of Agriculture, in London yesterday to discuss the position of pig and beef producers.  
Our Political Staff writes: A delegation of six Liberal MPs will travel to Brussels on Wednesday to discuss the agricultural crisis in Britain with Mr Lardinois. It will be led by Mr Emlyn Hooson, the MP for Montgomeryshire, who is the Liberal spokesman on agriculture.  
Mr Hooson said the purpose of the visit was to impress on the Commissioner the serious nature of the crisis in the livestock sector of the agriculture industry and in the horticultural industry.

## Court yields to threat by Italian extremists

From Our Correspondent  
Milan, May 20  
The Genoa Appeal Court today ordered the release of eight prisoners serving sentences ranging from 10 years imprisonment to life for offences including murder and conspiracy against state security.  
They were freed on condition that no harm be done to Signor Mario Sossi, the Genoa assistant prosecutor, who was kidnapped more than a month ago by an extremist group, calling itself the "Red Brigades".  
The Red Brigades had said in a message left in a Genoa telephone box that Signor Sossi was being held in a "people's jail" and was being tried by a "people's court".  
In another message they said he had been found guilty of a number of crimes "against the people", but that he would be exchanged for the eight prisoners.  
In ruling that the eight prisoners be freed, the Appeal Court granted a request filed by the Sossi family lawyer.  
The Appeal Court today ruled that the eight prisoners be given passports and allowed to go abroad. However, the issuing of passports is an administrative act depending upon the remains to be seen whether the Minister of the Interior, and it might be denied to the eight.  
Genoa, May 20.—Dr Sossi had helped prosecute the eight extremists. The eight are held in prisons all over the country and it was not immediately known if they would accept their release.  
Signor Luigi Preti, Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation, sharply criticised the court's decision, saying it would make "citizens lose faith in the law".  
"To save the life of one man, not only has it put in danger the lives of hundreds but it engenders in criminals the conviction that whatever crime they commit there is always the possibility of getting free by blackmailing the state."—Reuter and UPI.

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**RN ROYAL NAVY**

### Italian judges to go on strike for two days

From Our Own Correspondent  
Rome, May 20  
The National Association of Judges today called a two-day strike to demand higher pay and a reform of the Italian judicial system.  
On May 29 and May 30 all judicial activities will be brought to a halt except hearings of cases concerned with labour disputes and penal action against persons in custody. Protest meetings will be held in courtrooms to which parliamentarians and journalists will be invited as well as all those directly concerned with the administration of justice.  
The association called on President Leone to put pressure on the politicians to solve the serious problems facing justice and the judges.

### Editors intend to develop 'Europa' further

By Our Foreign Staff  
The economic monthly Europa, published jointly by Le Monde, La Stampa, The Times and Die Welt, is to be improved and further developed in its second year of publication.  
This was agreed at a meeting of managing directors and editors of the four newspapers, held in Venice last week, to review progress to date. The hosts at the meeting were Signor Giovanni Giovannini, publisher of La Stampa, and Signor Arrigo Levi, its editor-in-chief.  
Mr M. J. Hussey, managing director of The Times, told the meeting: "We are very pleased with the start Europa has made. It was a totally new newspaper concept and to publish it throughout the past months, given all the difficulties of countries in the European Community, shows that the principles on which it was founded are sound. We believe that it has great promise for the future."  
The next issue of Europa, published on June 4, the four newspapers will contain an interview with Dr Joseph Luns, Secretary-General of Nato, and a report on the way that American companies in Europe are coping with the economic crisis.

### Football supporters in death crash

Rome, May 20.—Three people were killed and 11 injured today in a collision between a lorry and a bus carrying supporters of the Lazio football club home from the team's last game of the season.—UPI

# Last week at Sotheby's

£5,200  
A Russian cloisonné enamel Easter Egg by Fedor Rukhert, 3 1/2 inches

£4,500  
Rhodes, tetradrachm, c. 360 BC

£5,500  
A silver cake basket by Thomas Farner, 1737, 1 1/2 inches wide

£1,050  
A Dutch silver table bell by Hendrik Swering, Amsterdam, 1752, 5 inches

£105  
A Lund cockscrew, patented in 1838

These are some of the 2,454 lots auctioned at Sotheby's last week. They represent just four of the seventy principal interests covered by Sotheby's. But it takes more than handling a wide range of subjects to become the world's largest auctioneer. It takes a profound knowledge of the market: so we can advise precisely on what to sell - and when. It requires the individual attention of over a hundred people with specialist knowledge of books, pictures, works of art, musical instruments, fossils, furniture - to name only a few. And it needs representation in 15 major cities throughout the world. Whatever your interests, Sotheby's can give you sound advice, authoritative valuation and selling expertise that's second to none in the world.

On page 15 there are details of our forthcoming Sales, some of which you may be interested in attending.

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VERSEAS

# Australian opposition parties fall out over Whitlam victory

Our Correspondent  
Sydney, May 20

Australian opposition parties are still waiting to see whether the Whitlam Government will get a working majority. Counting of votes could today and confirmed that Mr. Whitlam has a simple majority, but its size is still uncertain. The latest figures issued seem to assure it 64 seats in the Opposition 57. This is a margin of 7 seats, but the Opposition won all the Government would still have a majority of one.

Officials, who have been the trend of preferences in the ballot papers already estimated that Mr. Whitlam would eventually have a majority of either five or seven seats with nine in the pre-parliament.

Senate result will not be for at least a month. The impression is that it may lead to a 30-seat each in the Opposition and Government.

Mr. Billy Snedden, the Opposition leader, had predicted the outcome had disappeared. "It is hard to pin the reason," he said. "I think our policies got as well as had been. However, our morale is stronger and on the up and about's morale must be affected by the election result. I believe the next election will be ours."

Ross Edwards, Victorian leader of the Country Party, the Liberal Party, the coalition would have if it had not been for the "dis" he said. "The Victorian Liberals were caused competition in Country Party candidates there was no need to do so. They should have with us instead of against us."

David Hamer, a Liberal who looks like being de-

# Jingoistic fallout from India's atom blast

From Michael Hornsby  
Delhi, May 20

The radioactive fallout from India's explosion of a nuclear device last Saturday may have been insignificant, but the political and psychological fallout is certain to be substantial.

A wave of jingoistic emotionalism is sweeping the country and nationalist elements have been strengthened in their long-standing advocacy of an independent nuclear weapons capability.

Professor Subramanian Swamy, a member of the Upper House of Parliament representing the right-wing Jan Sangh, said in an interview published today that India was set on the path of becoming a global power.

The Government's profession of peaceful intent was merely a "fig leaf", he declared. The country should now give priority to the development of long-range ballistic missiles.

At a press conference in Bombay, Mr. H. N. Sethna, the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, said further nuclear tests would be considered only after the data from Saturday's explosion had been fully analysed. That might take six months.

Defending the Government's professions of peaceful intent, Mr. Sethna said nuclear explosions could legitimately be used for earth-moving in the construction of dams and canals and for stimulating oil and natural gas in depleted or low-yielding fields.

The site of the nuclear test has still not been announced officially, but informed sources here said it was in the Pokaran range of hills in the western part of the Rajasthan desert, about 90 miles from the Pakistan border.

The Foreign Ministry said it was "studying" the strong condemnation of the test by Mr. Bhutto, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, who last night accused India of "brandishing the sword of nuclear blackmail". No further comment was available.

Apart from Pakistan, the strongest protest so far has come from Canada, which has collaborated with India in the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

One reason for Canada's concern is that the plutonium used in the explosion is thought to have been produced by a reactor built more than 10 years ago with Canadian financial and technological assistance.

Canadian diplomatic sources indicated tonight that if this were the case, India would be in violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of agreements between the two countries. These stipulate that nuclear technology supplied by Canada, including the by-products, should be used only for peaceful purposes.

Canada, the diplomatic sources said, had long made clear that it saw no distinction between nuclear explosives conducted for allegedly peaceful purposes and those carried out with overtly military intent. India had accepted Canadian aid on this basis.

# Mr Rodgers urged to keep troops in Singapore

Our Correspondent  
Singapore, May 20

New Zealand Government understood to have urged Mr. Rodgers to keep troops in Singapore as part of a five-nation ANZAC defence agreement.

New Zealand's case was put by William Rodgers, British Minister of State for Defence, who is in Singapore on a visit. He said that the British Government's view was that the presence of British troops in Singapore was a necessary part of the ANZAC defence agreement.

Mr. Rodgers said that the British Government's view was that the presence of British troops in Singapore was a necessary part of the ANZAC defence agreement.

# Chinese children 'seize' diplomats

ng, May 20—A French source here said that the Chinese Government had taken attention to the "dis" nature of recent news involving members of the embassy and Chinese citizens.

Such incident occurred at the Ming Tombs, a attraction 25 miles north of Beijing, and lasted nearly two hours. The French diplomats were held, first by a group of children and then by police. The French diplomats were held, first by a group of children and then by police.

# People due to be hanged in Zaire

asa, May 20—President Sese Seko paraded 48 condemned men before a rally here yesterday, saying that all would be according to Zaire law.

es and "other delinquents" sentenced recently to death were to be hanged at the gallows in the Presidential Palace. Mr. Sese Seko said that 501 people had been given life sentences in Zaire, and pledged that public security would be maintained.

condemned men were hanged at a rally marking the anniversary of the People's Movement for liberation.

a speech, President Sese Seko said that the nine in the gallows had been given life sentences in Zaire, and pledged that public security would be maintained.

# Malaysia sees domestic gains in Peking accord

From Our Correspondent  
Kuala Lumpur, May 20

Tun Abdul Razak, the Malaysian Prime Minister, will make an official visit to China from May 28 to June 2, the Government announced today.

While in China he will formalize an agreement between the two countries to establish full diplomatic relations.

Moves towards this agreement began about two years ago, and it is understood that all outstanding issues have been settled.

The Malaysian Government appears to expect two important domestic dividends. First, diplomatic relations with China should lead eventually to a new status for about 220,000 stateless people of Chinese race living in Malaysia.

Until the terms of the agreement are published, it is not possible to say how they will be affected, but presumably Peking has adhered to its policy that ethnic Chinese who are not citizens of another country must be its concern. An early response to the announcement of diplomatic relations is likely to be a flood of applications for Malaysian citizenship.

Malaysia's second gain, it is calculated, could be the discomfiture of the Malaysian Communist Party, which is waging a minor guerrilla war in north Malaysia. The party is almost entirely ethnically Chinese and it has presented itself as obedient to Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Peking's closer relationship with Malaysia could disconcert the party's supporters.

Members probably has had to agree that Taiwan is an integral part of China, and this presumably will lead to the closure of a Taiwan consulate-general here and of the offices of China Airlines.

Singapore is said to be uneasy over Malaysia's decision, because of its opposition to the ruling People's Action Party is centred among its Chinese-educated population.

Indonesia also fears that a Chinese Embassy in Kuala Lumpur could encourage regional communist parties to greater activity.

# Fashion

by Prudence Glynn



Garments shown are designed especially for Marks and Spencer and are sold at all their major branches.

Right: Cotton and vinyl short sleeved fitted shirt, Sizes 10-16. Colours, cream, blue, pink. Price £3.50.

In their new French line of trousers are these cords with interesting pocket detail and leg lengths, long and extra long. Sizes 10-16. Colours, brick, beige, bottle, brown. Price £5.99.

Turban designed by Alan Coudridge in Liberty Print Country Cotton, exclusively for Liberty of Regent Street. Price £4.25.

Necklace by Mari Meller £13.25. Ivory Slice bracelet by Xavier Corbero £23.00. Both at Liberty's.

String shopping bag from the Home Ideas department at Liberty's; £1.05.

Above: Long cotton halter neck dress in many assorted prints. Sizes 10-16. Price £7.99. Available in one week.

Straw hat enhanced with delicately coloured flowers designed by Alan Coudridge exclusively for Liberty's and made to order. Price £28.00.

Ivory, ebony and silver kidney necklace by Xavier Corbero, £15.50, at Liberty's.

Canvas and rope wedge sandals. Sizes 3-8. Colours blue and natural. Price £3.99 from Marks and Spencer.

Far Right: Polyester shirt in assorted prints. Sizes 10-16. Price £4.50, worn under a cotton and nylon mix top also in assorted colours. Sizes 12-18. Price £2.99.

Learned with a bias cut skirt made from a Style Pattern, 4608. Price 40p.

Amber and ostrich necklace £10.00 at Liberty's.

String bag as before.

Photographs by Jeanny

# St Michael and all angles

Since the business of fashion so clearly reflects the facts of life, it is not surprising that in a period of economic and political uncertainty one should sense some disenchantment with that business. Manufacturers are worried about rising imports, rising costs of synthetic and natural fibres, lost trade and late deliveries from the three-day week. Shops are worried about the longer skirts which are a summer fact, and about the effect this has had on coats (coupled with three mild winters). They are also worried because though some cheap dresses are selling, the volume "cheap" items are not selling fast enough to make up for the fact that they are as expensive as ever as more pricey merchandise.

Buyers are cautious, looking towards houses with an established reputation and authority. While there has been public resistance to the price of the past year, it seems not to apply to clothes. Buyers are choosing more stylish and more expensive items from the autumn range, and not asking the price. This might be some consolation for all those who have struggled to advance the claims of quality and design in a market notorious for its price-consciousness; but though a leading manufacturer refuses my theory, I cannot help wondering if this lack of concern with price now is not yet another manifestation of the despairing resignation that next year the cost will be even higher.

Still, a light amid the encircling gloom was provided by Sir Derek Rayner, joint managing director of Marks and Spencer, when I met him last week. Sir Derek was not only cool and confident, which I would expect, but also far from being disenchanted with fashion and its vagaries; far from being irritated by the multiplicity of problems that come to any company which concerns itself in so many spots on the production line of the goods it sells. Far from wondering whether there might not be more profitable and less tricky businesses to be in than retailing. In fact, Sir Derek was positively optimistic.

He ascribes disappointing results from some fashion oriented companies to lack of consistent identity, and agrees that there are too few people in this country "who know what retailing is about". He discounts the nerves of stores whose prime sites make them despair of generating sufficient return on capital by saying that it is all a question of utilizing space properly, and seemed to be concerned because he could not get hold of enough clothes to sell. Sir Derek. I must add, combines realism and idealism, or if you prefer, high-mindedness with shrewd practicality, in quantities which I find very palatable.

But this is not to be a hagiography of St Michael; indeed I am aware that in some readers the glow of veneration has dimmed. Nor will this article provide, watchful competitors, the magic key with which Marks and Spencer unlocks the purse of the fickle consumer.

What I wanted to redefine was the true identity of a chain of stores which we now take pretty much for granted. I wanted to talk about the policy and the future direction of a business which clothes so many people. And I wanted to relay comments from some of those people because not only do those comments naturally reflect the success in establishing your image in the customer's mind, but because Sir Derek had told me that one of the most important sources used for Marks and Spencer decisions is provided by the customers themselves.

For example, many women have complained to me that Marks and Spencer is no longer cheap. In fact, it has always been possible to buy more cheaply elsewhere, but I find that the image of price has ousted the real virtue, value, in many minds. That value is as true today as ever it was. After all, Marks and Spencer has no magic immunity from price rises in materials and labour. But when it has to put up a price, when it "cannot hold the price point", it reassesses the product not just the tag. Many customers complained to the stores that the long nightgowns were not long enough. When repricing became inevitable, instead of adding the bare X pence and continuing to reveal the nation's ankles of a morning, the skirt was lengthened and the price raised accordingly. More expensive, indeed, but good value on a superior product.

Two complaints which contradict each other are that the selection in Marks and Spencer shops is now too great or too small. The size of the ranges is determined, ideally, by the shop's avowed policy, which is to provide excellent value and quality over a basic range of clothing. That basic range has itself expanded—"white shirts are not enough"—as the customer has become better provided for, more discriminating and apparently more colour-conscious. But the positive cornucopia of styles which have recently baffled shoppers, in the fact that the garments are not tried on but dispensed like groceries so that the girls have little experience in how they look worn, contribute to a superficial fluency which does not stand up to detailed questioning.

The average Marks and Spencer salesgirl is young, so the firm has been affected by the extra year at school, and also escapes my views on staff creches. It is when the promising young woman marries and has children that the familiar wastage bites. In spite of liberal maternity leave, sympathetic attitudes to family life, a generous provision for reemployment, few married women reach their full potential. Even if their job is the more rewarding, they follow their husbands' postings, and often after the birth of the child the husband will decide that he does not want his wife to work after all. I reiterate these clichés of female employment only because Marks and Spencer is constantly being urged to have women in high places and a woman on the board.

The fact is that no tightly run business will have "token" women on the board. Each director must be able to offer some exceptional contribution, coupled with a broad experience of the industry. Decision taking is a key factor. Modern business does not end at five o'clock; there are planes to be caught, reports to be written, papers to be read. This level is not compatible with what most women regard as their role. I believe that we shall see changes from within society, though, because women, being realists, are quite able to recognize the dangers of losing the means to be independent in an age of quick divorce. As Simone de Beauvoir said to Caroline Moorhead in last week's interview, to earn one's living is not an end in itself, but it is the only way to achieve security based inner independence.

In the meantime, I must say that I find a gentle irony in the fact that Marks and Spencer, which would genuinely welcome women, is robbed of their talent by the decision of so many to opt for family, which J. K. Galbraith describes as "incessantly a facilitating instrument for increased consumption." On the other hand, the subservient, docile female contentedly dispensing the family budget provides Marks and Spencer with the greater part of its profit.

# As they say in Savile Row

(It costs very little more to be really well dressed...)

The best summers begin with a lightweight suit from Hawkes of Savile Row.

Apart from making superb bespoke suits in best British cloths, we are the leading suppliers in England of the exclusive Chester Barrie ready-to-wear clothes. We also have other ready-made suits and casual clothes in a wide range of prices, styles and sizes. We've been making and selling clothes for over 200 years. You really haven't dressed until you've been to Hawkes.

HAWKES of Savile Row

Hawkes and Co. Ltd. No. 1 Savile Row, London, W.1. Tel: 01-734 0186







PORT

Piggott's mounts have form that cannot be lightly dismissed

Jim Snow, racing correspondent, writes that Piggott's mounts have form that cannot be lightly dismissed. The article discusses the performance of horses trained by Piggott, highlighting their consistent success in various races. It mentions specific horses and their recent wins, emphasizing the quality of Piggott's training and the form of his mounts.



Lester Piggott: could now close the gap behind Pat Eddery at the top of the jockeys' championship.

Nottingham programme

- Nottingham programme listing various horse races including the Nottingham Stakes, Elyng Horse Plate, and others. It provides details on the race times, participants, and odds.

Ludlow NH

- Ludlow NH programme listing various horse races including the Ludlow Handicap and others. It provides details on the race times, participants, and odds.

Hamilton Park results

- Hamilton Park results listing the outcomes of various horse races, including winners and their odds.

Windsor

- Windsor programme listing various horse races including the Windsor Handicap and others. It provides details on the race times, participants, and odds.

Nottingham selections

Nottingham selections: A list of recommended horses and jockeys for the Nottingham races, based on their recent performance and form.

Overhampton results

- Overhampton results listing the outcomes of various horse races, including winners and their odds.

Pontefract

- Pontefract programme listing various horse races including the Pontefract Handicap and others. It provides details on the race times, participants, and odds.

Southwell NH

- Southwell NH programme listing various horse races including the Southwell Handicap and others. It provides details on the race times, participants, and odds.

Stout tries again

Stout tries again: A short article mentioning a horse named Stout and its recent racing performance.

Appley Fair's Derby price shortens

Appley Fair's Derby price shortens: A short article discussing the odds and performance of horses in the Appley Fair Derby.

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Law Report May 20 1974

Quean's Bench Division

Apology to Vindolanda archaeologists

Apology to Vindolanda archaeologists: A detailed article discussing the archaeological excavations at Vindolanda, a Roman fort on the Hadrian's Wall. It mentions the discovery of various artifacts and the challenges faced by the archaeologists. The article also includes an apology from the relevant authorities for any inconvenience caused during the excavations.

Court of Appeal

Slipping notice under door good service

Slipping notice under door good service: A legal case report from the Court of Appeal. It discusses a dispute over a notice being slipped under a door, and the court's decision on whether this constituted a valid service of the notice.

Slipping notice under door good service

Slipping notice under door good service: A continuation of the legal case report, discussing the court's reasoning and the final judgment.

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Variety to add spice to the cricket library

Facts, figures and matters in lighter vein

Variety to add spice to the cricket library: A review of a book titled 'Facts, figures and matters in lighter vein'. The review discusses the book's content, which includes a mix of cricket facts, statistics, and lighter anecdotes. It praises the book for providing a well-rounded and entertaining read for cricket enthusiasts.

FOOD

FOOD: A section featuring a cartoon illustration of a person's head with various food items and ingredients inside, symbolizing the theme of food. Below the illustration, there is a short article or advertisement related to food, possibly discussing a new recipe or a food product.















## £4,000 plus Appointments

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Applications  
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1974

After consultation with that Local Government Staff Commission these posts are advertised without restriction but all other things being equal preference will be given to serving Local Government Officers.

**Nottinghamshire County Council**  
County Hall West Bridgford  
Nottingham NG2 7DF

## Chartered accountants

e Town £3,700 to £5,000

Our South African Associates, Arthur Young & Co., write applications from recently qualified Chartered accountants and from persons awaiting the results of their final examination, to work as audit seniors in their Cape Town office.

## These positions offer:

- Wide experience in auditing and involvement in taxation and investigation work
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A partner from Cape Town office will be in London on May 28 and May 29 and would like to meet interested applicants. Please write in confidence giving brief career details to:

**YMM**  
Clifford Thornton,  
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McClelland Moores & Co.,  
Moor House, London Wall,  
London EC2Y 5HP.  
Tel: 01-628 4070 ext. 119

## Principal Estates Surveyor

16-£5,223 (including London Weighting)  
essential user car allowance.

is a new third tier post in the Estates & Valuation Department. person appointed will head a Division with responsibility for development and management of the Corporation's estate (not housing), for maintenance of buildings, for rating and for Drawing Office services. He will be expected to lead the post business management team, together with drive and initiative to develop and improve the operations Division.

on is one of the largest of the London Boroughs. The Division is about 334,000 and the Borough has a total rateable of about £54m. The Corporation has a significant estate from the Town Centre, and industrial estates to golf courses farms, with an annual rent roll exceeding £2m.

ations are limited from Chartered Surveyors with wide experience at senior level.

proved cases assistance will be considered for temporary to accommodation and grants towards removal expenses.

## CROYDON

ation forms and further particulars may be obtained from Estate Surveyor & Valuer, London Borough of Croydon, Local Offices, Felt Road, Croydon CR9 3JY or telephone 4433. Ext: 2382.  
g date for applications 12th June, 1974.

## BOTTLING EQUIPMENT MANUFACTURERS

p.A. Milan (Established 1910) is setting up a U.K. ny to market their bottling equipment. The new must be run by a dynamic and efficient team, we are seeking:

## SALES MANAGER

andidates must have a thorough technical knowledge speed lines in the bottling industry. He must be id to travel and work long hours and must have first ntracts at all levels. Offices will be in central London. we offer:

Annual Salary between six and seven thousand pounds.  
Commission on the total sales of the new U.K. company.  
Company car.  
First year's salary guaranteed by contract.

## SALES ENGINEER

andidate is also required to have the necessary technical dce and sales experience of the industry and be id to travel and work closely with the Sales Manager nning of the organisation.

Annual Salary three thousand five hundred to four thousand pounds.  
Plus benefits similar to the Sales Manager

in writing to Fritchard, Engelfield and Tobin (Ref. 23 Great Castle Street, W.1.

## MANAGER PERSONNEL AND TRAINING

BARIC designs and sells computer systems, and processes customers' work on its own System 4 and 1900 computers at sites throughout the U.K. and Eire. The Company is seeking a Manager for the Personnel and Training Sector. He would propose policy to the M.D., and implement this policy once agreed, with the main aim of caring for the well-being of staff in their work, and providing optimum conditions for their personal development consistent with BARIC's primary task.

**THE COMPANY**  
Founded 1970, an ICL subsidiary and an associate of Barclay's Bank, BARIC is one of the two largest computer bureaux in the U.K. and Eire, 1,000 staff. Forecast turnover 1973/1974 is £5.2 million. BARIC is profitable and has been steadily growing since 1970. Organised with three operating Sectors (area based) supported by strong central services — Personnel and Training, Financial Control and Accounts, Planning.

**THE JOB**  
The Personnel and Training Manager reports to the M.D., and is responsible for proposing and implementing policy throughout the Company concerning: organisational structure; manpower planning; role analysis and design; appraisals of performance; work and career needs; training; recruitment and conditions of employment. He is a member of BARIC's senior management group and is based in London. His sector has 12 professional staff, 3 reporting directly to him.

BARIC is a company that is doing something about the work problems and needs of its staff. Currently all staff in London, in collaboration with the Tavistock Institute, are engaged

**BARIC**  
BARIC IS AN ICL/BARCLAYS BANK COMPANY

in a process designed to help staff in planning for their work and career needs. The Personnel and Training Manager will be expected to help in guiding this work and through his change. **THE MAN**  
The job requires maturity, a sensitivity to individual, group and organisational needs and an ability to translate this awareness into workable personnel policies. The job is not an easy one; high intelligence and perseverance are needed, particularly in those aspects which involve changing accepted procedures. The experience necessary is not likely to have been gained before 35. The man appointed will probably have worked as a Personnel Manager and have made use of social science contributions in the understanding of organisations. It is a job offering an unusual opportunity, as the M.D. wants BARIC to be a leader in developing the right sort of organisation for staff.

Salary negotiable between £5,455-£7,295. Company pension scheme. The Tavistock Institute has been retained by BARIC to advise on the selection and for an application form and more information please write to:

A. G. K. Bein,  
Tavistock Institute of Human Relations,  
120 Belsize Lane,  
London, N.W.3.  
or call 01-435 7111

## SOUTH WALES GENERAL WORKS MANAGER

SALARY AROUND £5,000 PER ANNUM PLUS COMPANY CAR

## THE COMPANY

Fast-expanding capital intensive Plastics Company undertaking major expansion. Location South Wales area.

## THE JOB

The control and co-ordination of several manufacturing units producing different products.

## THE MAN

Probably aged about 40 with proven works management experience, preferably in a medium sized capital intensive operation.

## THE FUTURE

Future prospects for advancement to Board and profit sharing are excellent.

BOX No. 2766 C, THE TIMES.

## South Wales PERSONNEL/TRAINING OFFICER

Salary around £4,000 per annum

## THE COMPANY

Fast-expanding capital intensive Plastics Company undertaking major expansion. Location South Wales area.

## THE JOB

Selection and training of all personnel.

## THE MAN

Mid 30 plus. Experienced and preferably qualified in this field.

## THE FUTURE

The Company places great importance on these areas as the key to expansion. Prospects therefore for a Board appointment and profit sharing are excellent.

Box 2765 C, The Times.

## INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS CIVIL ENGINEERING INDUSTRY LONDON

An Industrial Relations SECRETARY is required by a National Employers' Organisation in Westminster.

This is a responsible post, involving contact with Government Departments, allied bodies, members and trade unions; Committee and Conciliation Board work; and the preparation of analyses and reports.

Applicants should be aged 30-40; have a degree in law or economics; experience in industrial relations; and an aptitude for high quality written work.

Salary in the range £4,000 to £5,000 depending on qualifications and experience.

Applications, giving full details, to the

General Secretary,

Federation of Civil Engineering Contractors,  
Romney House, Tufnell Street, London, SW1P 3DU.

APPOINTMENTS  
VACANT  
also on  
pages  
12 and 14

FOREIGN EXCHANGE DEALER  
£12,000 +

An established world-wide American bank is seeking a Foreign Exchange Trading Manager for its Singapore branch and affiliate foreign exchange and funding operations. Individual would supervise 5 man trading room.

Inquiries, which will be treated in the strictest confidence, should be addressed to:

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Box 2768 C,  
Box 2768 C, The Times.

## CJA

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Scope to head up the total sales function in an overseas territory within the short/medium term.



Based—N.E. ENGLAND

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EXPANDING INTERNATIONAL MANUFACTURER—PROCESS INDUSTRY—T/O CIRCA £10 MILLION

These vacancies are open to candidates aged 24-30, preferably single, who have a minimum of 18 months commercial/ industrial experience of conducting business at a senior level. Responsibility will be to the Sales Director for the negotiation, development and servicing of profitable contracts of upwards of £100,000 each, with Shipbuilders and Shipowners in the World markets. A comprehensive 3 month product and field training will be provided, including approximately 3 months in Japan. Candidates must be highly profit orientated, adaptable, resilient and possess a strong commercial streak. Initial basic salary £3,800-£5,000 + bonus + car; contributory pension; life assurance; assistance with removal expenses if necessary. Applications in strict confidence under reference OSN4397/TT, to the Managing Director:

CAMPBELL-JOHNSTON ASSOCIATES (MANAGEMENT RECRUITMENT CONSULTANTS) LIMITED  
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An interesting appointment for an able administrator who is keen to establish this new and vital operation.



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EXPANDING MEDIUM SIZED FIRM OF CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS

This vacancy calls for candidates aged 40-55 who can demonstrate successful administrative/personnel experience which will have been gained either in the public sector, services, commerce or industry. The selected candidate will be totally responsible to the partners for the smooth running of the office. This overall responsibility will include the recruitment of staff; the control of salaries, staff records, communications, post, print room, catering, library; and the liaison with the landlord and office cleaning contractors. The right man will have a friendly and diplomatic manner, possess a sense of humour, yet operate with the high degree of efficiency expected for this essential function. Initial salary negotiable £3,000-£4,000, pension and life assurance scheme being implemented. Applications in strict confidence under reference POA7808/TT will be forwarded unopened to our client unless you list companies to which they should not be forwarded in a covering letter marked for the attention of the Security Manager.

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(£5,744 x 133 (3)-£6,143)

The post of Legal and Administrative Officer is a chief officer appointment with responsibility for the management of the administrative, committee and legal sections of the department. Certain staff will also be required to act for the Clerk and Chief Executive Officer but for all aspects of day to day management the responsibility will rest with the officer appointed.

The post of Deputy Legal and Administrative Officer is a senior appointment which will carry responsibility for the management of the legal services and involve attendance at Committees.

Applicants for both appointments must be experienced Solicitors who have had considerable committee and management experience.

Application forms, returnable by the 3rd June, 1974 are obtainable from the Establishment Officer, Town Hall, Barnsley, S70 2TA.

This advertisement appears after consultation with the Local Government Staff Commission for England and applications are restricted to local government staff serving in England (excluding London) or Wales.

A. Bleasby, Clerk and Chief Executive Officer.

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The successful applicant will be able to demonstrate a sound record of achievement in both the development and production fields. The position is located in Australia and a generous relocation allowance will be provided.

Interviews will be held in London during the next few weeks and applications giving full details of background and experience should be addressed to:

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C/o Alexander Fraser and Son Ltd.,  
Epworth House, City Road, London, EC1Y 1AP

## WESTERN DIVISION OF THE WOODARD CORPORATION

GRENVILLE COLLEGE, BIDEFORD  
HEADMASTER

The Provost and Chapter of the Western Division of the Woodard Corporation invite applications for the post of Headmaster which will become vacant in September, 1975.

There are at present 320 boys aged from 11-18 years, 55 of whom are day boys. The present Headmaster is a member of S.H.M.I.S.

Candidates are invited to make application not later than 1st July, 1974 and these should be sent to the PROVOST, c/o S. R. PERRATT Esq., GOODLAND BULL & CO., BRIDGWATER HOUSE, CORPORATION STREET, TAUNTON. From whom all particulars may be obtained. A stamped and addressed envelope should be enclosed.

City firm with growing shipping practice seeks assistant

## SOLICITOR

with two years or more experience in admiralty law who wishes to extend his experience into the commercial aspects of SHIPPING

Applications should be sent to FRESHFIELDS GRINDALL HOUSE 58 NEWGATE STREET LONDON EC1A 1LH (tel. BSEF)



# Appointments Vacant

also on pages 12 and 13

## GENERAL VACANCIES

### Occupational or Social PSYCHOLOGIST

A national organisation concerned with Health and Nutrition needs an occupational/social psychologist to organise selection, assessment, and training of group leaders, assist in Research and Statistical analysis.

Must be mobile and energetic with relevant past experience.

Rewards are car, BUPA, variety, advancement, and a salary of £3,500. More for the ideal person.

Full details to STANLEY THORLEY, BARRENS BRAE, WORKING, ENQUIRIES WOKING 6473.

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invites applications for the post of

### DRAMA OFFICER

The post will mainly be concerned with the development of regional theatres in England and will involve extensive travelling. Salary on the scale £2,396 to £3,029 under review.

Write full details of age and experience with curriculum vitae to the Executive Director, 105 Piccadilly, W1V 0AL, to arrive not later than Monday, 17th June, 1974.

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We are looking for a qualified Bookkeeper to take charge of all financial matters at our distribution centre/warehouse in Ealing; to be directly responsible to the Managing Director. Good salary and friendly working conditions.

Please apply with full details to —

The Managing Director  
MORRISON GORDON LTD  
119 Gordon Road, West Ealing W13 8PR

## CAREERS IN INSURANCE BROKING

Lloyd's brokers, operating internationally, offer a career opportunity to young people in the insurance industry. Some bank-like experience is preferable but not essential. The level of the education, including English and Maths, is important. We will train you. Write to: Mr. Harold Hobbs, 105 Piccadilly, London, EC4A 3DF.

## A CONTINENTAL BANK

In London is looking for 2-3 young people (17-21) interested in foreign currencies, international banking, and international trade. Some bank-like experience is preferable but not essential. The level of the education, including English and Maths, is important. We will train you. Write to: Mr. Harold Hobbs, 105 Piccadilly, London, EC4A 3DF.

## YOUTH AND COMMUNITY WORKER

For work among young people in an open area in an inner city. The post involves working with young people in a variety of ways, including counselling, advice, and support. Some experience is preferable but not essential. The level of the education, including English and Maths, is important. We will train you. Write to: Mr. Harold Hobbs, 105 Piccadilly, London, EC4A 3DF.

## CITY SOLICITORS

to handle increasing volume of claims for personal injury, compensation, and other legal matters. Some experience is preferable but not essential. The level of the education, including English and Maths, is important. We will train you. Write to: Mr. Harold Hobbs, 105 Piccadilly, London, EC4A 3DF.

## TRAINEE IN COMMODITIES

Extensive London-based international commodities trading company seeks a trainee in the area of oil, metals, and other commodities. Some experience is preferable but not essential. The level of the education, including English and Maths, is important. We will train you. Write to: Mr. Harold Hobbs, 105 Piccadilly, London, EC4A 3DF.

## HEAD FORESTER

Required, autumn 1974 on Agricultural Estate. Full staff, good house, full experience essential. Apply with details to: Mr. Harold Hobbs, 105 Piccadilly, London, EC4A 3DF.

## WINE BAR MANAGER

Required, autumn 1974 on Agricultural Estate. Full staff, good house, full experience essential. Apply with details to: Mr. Harold Hobbs, 105 Piccadilly, London, EC4A 3DF.

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Required, autumn 1974 on Agricultural Estate. Full staff, good house, full experience essential. Apply with details to: Mr. Harold Hobbs, 105 Piccadilly, London, EC4A 3DF.

## ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

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## GENERAL VACANCIES

### SENIOR DEVELOPMENT ENGINEER

Read Recorders Limited, Lake Road, Buntingford, Cambs, is seeking a Senior Development Engineer to design and develop electronic equipment for the defence industry. The successful candidate will have a degree in electrical engineering and several years' experience in the design and development of electronic equipment. Salary is £4,000 per annum. Apply to: Mr. Harold Hobbs, 105 Piccadilly, London, EC4A 3DF.

### Mr. S. K. NEVATIA

c/o Mr. F. PURCELL, Director, Westinghouse Brake and Signal Co. Ltd., 1 John Street, London, WC1N 2ES U.K.

### PART-TIME ASSISTANT TO SALARIES OFFICER

ARTS COUNCIL OF GREAT BRITAIN. There is a vacancy for an experienced Salaries Officer to assist the Salaries Officer in the day-to-day work of the Council. The successful candidate will have a degree in a relevant subject and several years' experience in the work of a Salaries Officer. Salary is £2,500 per annum. Apply to: Mr. Harold Hobbs, 105 Piccadilly, London, EC4A 3DF.

### TORY YOUTH TEAM

Youth Officers in the Conservative Party are the backbone of the party's youth work. They are responsible for organising and running youth groups, and for recruiting new members. The successful candidate will have a degree in a relevant subject and several years' experience in the work of a Youth Officer. Salary is £2,500 per annum. Apply to: Mr. Harold Hobbs, 105 Piccadilly, London, EC4A 3DF.

### INTERNATIONAL BANKING

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# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Security in Northern Ireland

From Mr John Biggs-Davison, Conservative MP for Epping Forest

Sir, The IRA and all who aim at an all-Ireland workers' republic that would be Cuban, not Christian, in character may be hoping that the atrocities in Dublin and Monaghan bring nearest a secular civil war working class.

It is clear to their mind as was the acceptance of the Provisional Government for the abolition of Parliamentary Government at Stormont in a period when Mr Faulkner was opening his Cabinet and important Parliamentary Committee chairmanships to Catholics. Until then the security forces had to fight on one front. Since then sources loyalism has been a secular civil war.

The majority in the House of Commons is not a Trojan horse. It is a political crisis (deplorable action which it will become Labour Ministers to rebuke) and has been infiltrated by Marxists. How now to avert bloody catastrophe in Ireland?

The majority in Northern Ireland want to remain home rule. Few remain, after their treatment from Westminster, pro-British enough to want the full integration with Great Britain for which Mr Enoch Powell has stood, although they desire, and are entitled to, more seats in the House of Commons. A coalition executive is tolerable; a Council of Ireland as framed at Sunningdale is not.

Yet, without all-Ireland institutions, the bomb has made all decent Irishmen brothers in horror and adversity; and there is one all-Ireland body which might now command support throughout the island: a Defence Council and staff, representing the two Irelands and the two sovereign governments, to achieve and apply a combined strategy against all terrorism. The appointment is also overdue of a Supreme Commander for all security services and operations in Northern Ireland. He must be an officer of political as well as military quality, as in their day were Mountbatten, Temple, Harding, Bourke.

We cannot avoid the question of identity papers for those who move within the United Kingdom (they have them in other Western European states), and the extradition of fugitives from the island clearly a mutual interest of the Kingdom and the Republic.

Your obedient servant,  
JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON,  
House of Commons.

From Mr Alan Carr  
Sir, Your editorial of May 20, "The Loyalist Offensive", shows a basic misconception of things similar to that which caused Merlyn Rees and I to leave the Ulster Defence Regiment. You encourage Mr Rees to enter on a trial of strength "with the strikers, imagining that power-sharing is the issue. Power-sharing is not the issue: the Council of Ireland is. The Loyalist majority in February was a majority against the Council. That majority has been treated as a political irrelevance by all the powers that be, and the parliamentary majority in the Assembly, which has been strikingly unrepresentative of the state of feeling in the country,

is declared to be the only relevant majority. The majority in the Assembly in the country by their action on May 14. It would have been prudent of them to have supported David Bleakley's statesmanlike motion, which would have avoided a confrontation, and would have clarified the matter of substance which is at issue.

It is difficult to understand that the large working-class element in the Protestant community sees the Council of Ireland as a Trojan horse. Dublin has failed to meet the terms which were stated in Mr Whitehead's White Paper to be a definite precondition for a council: recognition of the Constitutional status of the North.

It is said that the Government has good intentions. That we believe. But they fear that if they called a referendum to delete Articles 2 and 3 of the Constitution they would lose it. How much weight should be attached to the Government's intentions then?

The Provos and many Dublin politicians declare that Britain is looking for an opportunity to shed Northern Ireland, as if it were a redundant colony. The actions of many Government politicians appear to give substance to that view (Mr Rees's unfortunate letter, and statements by Stanley Orme and Roy Mason), and it is remembered that Mr Wilson himself had a friendly meeting with the leaders of the Provisionals in Dublin last year. So, when the vote of February 28 is declared to be irrelevant, and when Mr Rees affects the manner of a colonial administrator, great suspicions are aroused.

Protestant workers are used to seeing the substance of their position being misrepresented in the British press. It is unfortunate that *The Times* should have chosen this particular moment to start getting things substantially wrong. The advice you give to Mr Rees is dangerous. Power politics, ignoring the present views of the majority for their own good, has failed.

The majority has been provoked into action by political bungling. Practical politics demand that the substance of their case (no Council of Ireland without the consent of the majority) should be met, and should be seen to be met. That is how to defend power-sharing.

Yours faithfully,  
ALAN CARR, Secretary,  
The Workers' Association for the Democratic Settlement of the National Conflict in Ireland,  
10 Athol Street, Belfast 12.

From Mr Catherine Adams  
Sir, In his now famous letter to me Mr Merlyn Rees asks for suggestions on how to prevent a blood bath in the event of British withdrawal from Northern Ireland. I offer this suggestion to him.

Give a date for withdrawal, have a United Nations force ready to act as peace keepers and introduce a Federal system of Government as envisaged in the Sinn Féin policy Eire Nua.

CATHERINE ADAMS,  
33 Point Road,  
Dundalk, Co Louth, Ireland.

isolated. One can imagine what would have happened to the prosperity of the Canary Islands or to Madeira if they had suffered from atrocious telecommunications, no daily air service, a slow shipping service which runs only once every six weeks and a delay of roughly the same period in the granting of visas to prospective visitors.

The Cape Verde Islands have been Portuguese for over 500 years. In recent times they have been able to maintain a bare subsistence economy only at considerable cost to the Portuguese treasury. I am convinced that there would be a rich harvest if the new regime could, under appropriate conditions, develop the islands and forgotten islands to development and the visitor from abroad.

Yours faithfully,  
M. M. FLETT,  
52 Finsbury Park Road,  
N4.

Future of Cape Verde  
From Mr M. M. Flett  
Sir, Your leading article on the pace of decolonization in Portuguese Africa (May 14) prompts me to invite attention to the Cape Verde Islands, where I believe a change of attitude in Lisbon holds great promise for Portugal and for the islands' inhabitants.

The Cape Verde Islands are terra incognita to the world at large. This is a pity because the soil is fertile; the people are intelligent, hard working and loyal to Portugal; and the islands have a superb climate with beautiful beaches and a very low rainfall.

Unfortunately under the previous regime communications with the outside world were reduced to a minimum. As of now, they are so inadequate that the islands are practically

## India as the sixth nuclear power

From Professor B. T. Feld

Sir, The explosion by India of a nuclear device represents an extremely serious blow to world-wide hopes of bringing the nuclear arms menace under control. The facts, that the Indian explosion took place underground (hence not violating the partial test-ban treaty) and that it was allegedly not for the purpose of weapons development, but rather for the exploration of "peaceful" uses of nuclear explosions, serve only very slightly to mitigate the serious implications of the Indian decision.

The difference between a nuclear weapon and a peaceful nuclear explosive device is academic at best. Whatever her stated intentions, India must now be counted as the sixth nuclear power, and she joins the "club" since the coming into force of the Treaty of 1968 on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. By discarding the restraints that have been voluntarily assumed by the twenty-two "civilian nuclear powers"—who, while technically capable of producing nuclear weapons, have heretofore agreed not to do so—India may well have opened the flood-gates to a disastrous worldwide proliferation of nuclear weapons testing and stockpiling.

It is fervently to be hoped that the other nuclear-capable nations will continue to refrain from taking this fatal step, at least pending the conclusion of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, scheduled to take place next year. In the meanwhile the fulfilment by the nuclear "superpowers" of their responsibility "... to pursue negotiations ... for cessation of nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament ..." (Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty), is now more urgent than ever.

A universal nuclear test ban (to include underground testing) is long overdue; the awaited SALT II agree-

ment must provide for a substantial reduction of the vast deployments of strategic nuclear weapons, as well as adopting measures for bringing the current Soviet-American race in new weapons technologies under control; the tremendous stocks of tactical atomic bombs, deployed in Europe and on board aircraft carriers on all the oceans, must be reduced appreciably. Any remaining hope for continuing restraint on the part of the nuclear-capable nations depends crucially on the rapid achievement of meaningful agreements for nuclear arms reductions by the superpowers.

In this critical situation, when the world approaches rapidly the brink of nuclear anarchy, no individual or nation can stand aloof. As a vitally concerned party, Britain, together with all other peace-loving nations, has the right, the opportunity and, indeed, the responsibility to exert all her power and influence to press for the rapid fulfilment by the United States and the Soviet Union of their obligations, as well as to help solidify the convictions of the non-nuclear powers that it remains in their vital security interests to refrain from following the Indian example.

Yours sincerely,  
B. T. FELD,  
Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs,  
60 Great Russell Street, WC1.

From Mr James Cameron  
Sir, India's Prime Minister has done what we have bitterly pleaded with the world not to do. Those who knew Pandit Nehru will wonder which of them gave India "greater influence in the world".

Yours faithfully,  
JAMES CAMERON,  
The Bingle Road, W12,  
May 20.

patients themselves but also the nurses in their wholly admirable struggles to care for them.

Yours,  
GEORGE W. LEE, Director,  
British Association for the Retarded,  
17 Pembroke Square, W2,  
May 17.

Helping the retarded  
From Mr George W. Lee  
Sir, Surely the principal lesson to be learnt from the report of the Committee of Inquiry into the deeply disturbing situation prevailing at the time of the death of a child at Oakendon Hospital, and from similar inquiries conducted in the recent past relating to Ely and Farleigh hospitals, is that the remedy cannot be found simply by yielding to widespread calls for the injection of more resources of money and staff into hospitals for the mentally subnormal.

As Mrs Castle has rightly sought to make plain, one of the central problems is to reduce the intolerable overcrowding so often existing in these hospitals. This could readily be brought about by the introduction of a system of residential schemes as necessary alternatives to institutionalization and at the same time to build up those supportive welfare services which are now recognized as a prerequisite, if those who are at present suitable for discharge from hospital are to live happy and useful lives in the community.

But more than this, the committee's condemnation of the narrow view of clinical autonomy, leading to the assumption by the hospital consultants concerned of "authority over virtually the whole lives of their patients", clearly points to the need for the urgent re-examination of the present approach to the problem of caring for those retarded persons who remain in hospital.

We need to remember that, contrary to popular misconception, subnormality as such is not an illness but a state of arrested development, and that the logic of the recognition of this fact is to make it a fact, so to speak, to call for the much greater involvement of other professional disciplines apart from doctors and nurses.

It might confidently be expected that psychiatric education, vocational and recreational specialists, through the exercise of their professional techniques, would be able greatly to enrich the quality of life in hospitals for the subnormal, and so benefit not only the

Capital punishment  
From Mr David Kidd  
Sir, Does Mr Louis Blom-Cooper (May 16) know of any evidence relating to any crime the penalty attached to which has clearly affected its rate? The applicability of death to a growing scepticism about the values such punishment had been used to affirm. It is on this level that the debate should be carried on.

The point is judges and courts administer justice: it is the function of educationists in the widest sense to prevent crime. The logic of the deterrence theory of punishment leads, as the more consistent of its adherents realize, to the view all punishment is indefensible.

Capital punishment was abolished not because empirical researches had confuted the belief it deterred but because philosophical changes had led to the view that concepts such as "guilt", "evil", "responsibility", "desert", had doubtful validity or applicability and to a growing scepticism about the values such punishment had been used to affirm. It is on this level that the debate should be carried on.

Yours faithfully,  
DAVID KIDD,  
41 Whittington Road, N22,  
May 17.

From Mr John Gloag  
Sir, Piracy died out early in the nineteenth century. The decline of that, violent, trade was due to the abolition of the gallows and their exhibits ranged on Execution Dock.

Yours faithfully,  
JOHN GLOAG,  
3 The Mall,  
East Sheen, SW14,  
May 17.

## N EXCELLENT PRESIDENT

murally one could imagine a margin, but you know in a presidential election it is the decision and responsibility.

In these words, M. Giscard d'Estaing summed up the subjects about his election. There is the vote, which is the French electorate, exactly bisected into two camps; and there is the which places supreme in the hands, and sole responsibility on the shoulders, of man.

British terms, the closeness of a poll may not seem particularly striking. Indeed we may think that with fifty per cent of voters behind him M. Giscard d'Estaing derives his authority from a larger fraction of his countrymen than any government has done in the past. In an age of city governments, France at least does not have a minority, and looking across the ditch, we can also note that no President Kennedy was elected by an even narrower margin.

Today's vote in France has been compared with the election of President Kennedy. That was a contest between two each trying to demonstrate he was better qualified than the other for a task of which they fundamentally the same option. The choice was made, perhaps, to that between Giscard d'Estaing and Jean Delmas, but not to that between M. Giscard d'Estaing and the other. For in this latter election, despite the superficiality of their last-minute as (Mitterrand offering to "President" for all the "h" and M. Giscard d'Estaing "President" of all the "h") it was clear that the "h" of the candidates were used as shorthand for two different visions of the future.

an break  
any people on both sides acknowledged the competence, diligence and responsibility of the opponent. Many people on both sides professed no strong personal affection for their own candidate, or even admitted to a certain antipathy towards him. Their choice was, every sense, a political one: one who supported M. Mitterrand did so because he was the future of the working class, and the other because he was the future of the middle classes. In this election, a clean break in the Gaullist regime which ruled France for sixteen years, because it held out the use of a socialist society in one term, and in the short a more egalitarian one in

which the "over-mighty subjects" of the modern age—the great national and multinational firms—would be brought under public control, though those other "over-mighty" subjects, the trade unions, would have greatly increased their power.

Those who supported M. Giscard d'Estaing were, in essence, those who rejected this vision—and they had good reason to reject it. The liberal conservatism which the French economy has been managed by M. Giscard d'Estaing has a striking record of success. When he took over the management of the French economy, France, despite a favourable record of growth, was still only one stage beyond what Britain is today, a weak economy, with inadequate industrial power, poorer than her neighbours. France today is second only to West Germany as a modern prosperous economy, giving her citizens a considerably higher standard of living than ours.

Good record  
M. Mitterrand's alliance with the communists did not only frighten the middle classes, though the French communists are indeed still basically Stalinist. They are certainly no friends of liberty. It threatened the French economic record, and despite the current inflation, the record is too good to be dismissed.

To these differences of opinion corresponded, in large measure, differences of age, sex and social status. M. Mitterrand was supported by the majority of male voters, by the majority of all voters under fifty (but, more especially of those under thirty-five), and by seventy per cent of the working class. On these points the two main French opinion polls agree. He might even have won the election if the voting age had been eighteen instead of twenty-one—or if it had been held two years later, at the end of President Pompidou's full term of office. M. Giscard d'Estaing, who takes understandable pride in being the youngest President for nearly eighty years, none the less owes his election to the older and more conservative groups in French society. He was elected by the wisdom of the old women of France.

That of course does not in any way invalidate his election. But it may represent a handicap for the new President for the actual work of government. He knows that he does not enjoy the good will of the Frenchman like to call the "living forces" of the country—those people on whose work the future of the economy depends. He does not enjoy it, partly because many of them are believers in the socialist ideal which he rejects, and partly because he himself (unlike his

two predecessors) is a personification of the various French establishments which are fashionably taught to detest: the technocracy, the plutocracy, and the aristocracy; that he and his wife are both descended from Louis XV will hardly help.

Fortunately, M. Giscard d'Estaing is a man intelligent enough to be aware of all these handicaps, and perhaps even to turn them to account. He said on Sunday night that he had understood during the campaign that the French wanted "political, economic, and social change", and that he would see to it that they were not disappointed.

This promise will certainly have to be kept if the rift in French society which the campaign revealed is not to get dangerously deeper and wider. To keep it will require courage and determination, but should not be impossible. A conservative leader is often best placed to introduce reforms if he is really determined to do it, because his most conservative supporters have nowhere else to go, and trust his judgement of what is needed. And although M. Giscard d'Estaing's "new majority" in Parliament is theoretically fragile, the very narrowness of his victory gives him considerable freedom of action. Neither the Gaullists nor M. Lecanier's centrists will have any incentive to censure the Government and thereby provoke a parliamentary election which would give the left another chance. Nor can they very well oppose social or economic reform, which is what both of them are calling for.

## Reservations

On "political reform" the Gaullists may have some objections; but now that they are no longer the dominant party they may well begin to see the point of some changes in the Fifth Republic's political system. Their strongest reservations are likely to concern foreign policy. M. Giscard d'Estaing is pledged to preserve the substance of President Pompidou's foreign policy, but he clearly intends to change the style. The sight of him repeating his victory statement in English for the benefit of foreign television must have raised many a Gaullist hackle. We English-speakers should accept the compliment without mistaking its sense. M. Giscard d'Estaing will not be a soft touch either for fellow Europeans or for Americans.

But he means to treat us politely, he wants us to understand him, and he is capable of understanding us. France is speaking to the world with a new and intelligent voice, and the world should be grateful.

Future of Cape Verde  
From Mr M. M. Flett  
Sir, Your leading article on the pace of decolonization in Portuguese Africa (May 14) prompts me to invite attention to the Cape Verde Islands, where I believe a change of attitude in Lisbon holds great promise for Portugal and for the islands' inhabitants.

The Cape Verde Islands are terra incognita to the world at large. This is a pity because the soil is fertile; the people are intelligent, hard working and loyal to Portugal; and the islands have a superb climate with beautiful beaches and a very low rainfall.

Unfortunately under the previous regime communications with the outside world were reduced to a minimum. As of now, they are so inadequate that the islands are practically

his powers to set up an inquiry of his own). All this is very much what the unions have been asking for. But no case is made for the proposal to disband the CIR, simply so as to reconstitute it on much the same basis with much the same staff, as part of the new body.

The official line is that even though the CIR was set up by a Labour administration, its connexion with the Act and the Court has fatally impaired its credit (though not apparently that of its staff). So much is being salvaged from the Act in any case that this argument of guilt by association needs reinforcement.

When the Bill had its second reading, there were some decidedly wistful references to the CIR even from the Government benches. Mr Russell Kerr said that it had "a Jekyll and Hyde quality" and hoped that its current investigation into ICI, which had been expected to establish negotiating rights for unions in that company's staff sector, would not share its oblivion. That represents Jekyll: a typical example of Hyde at work is the CIR's study of the Con-Mech affair for the Industrial Relations Court. It recommended that the company should recognize the engineering union, thus exposing Mr Scanlon to the unacceptable danger of winning his case. The fact is that the CIR is still widely respected, and any credit it has lost would soon be restored in a new atmosphere.

But the question is only a marginal one. Whether CIR and CAS work as two bodies or one will make no crucial difference to their effectiveness. The major point is that change for its own sake causes unnecessary disruption. Modest amendments of this kind are no basis for a claim by the Government that the Bill is being sabotaged. There are other points in it that call for improvement: the position of conscientious objectors in a closed shop, for instance, and the need for some assurance of appeal—at least to the executive of the union concerned, and preferably beyond—for victims of unfair use of the closed shop. If the Government's true intention is to take the heat out of industrial relations, then it should be ready to judge amendments on their merits and accept that the measure should represent the will of the House, and not just of one party.

Like the CIR, the new CAS would be independent, and its rulings purely advisory. This independence would perhaps be an assurance of greater impartiality, in its staff than might be expected from servants of Government policy. The consultative document contains no phrases about having regard to the national interest, of a kind that might give an opening to official pressure (though the minister will retain

## ERE SHOULD BE ROOM FOR AMENDMENT

Government were seeking exit for a summer election, ministerial proceedings on the Union and Labour Relations Bill seem liable to provide it will not be a compelling force, and the Prime Minister obviously be cautious enough to rise to it, but the opportunity will be there. The Conservative Party has little appetite for battle just now unless it is to abandon its role in fulfilling the role of Opposition; it can hardly press further amendments. Bill which if they gain and Scottish Nationalist will change the measure vital respects than last success in adding a few amendments that would deprive "industrial" us and retain the ban on closed shops (where a law to be a union member he can get the job he has already been tabling, oppositions are supported. Liberals, in principle at

of an election called to save it from the CIR and to defend the present closed shop is very problematical.

The Opposition cannot easily be represented as conducting a filibuster against reform as such, and attention would be likely to fasten on the rival proposals for what is to replace it, and the manner in which the Government has set about the job. It cannot be said that Mr Foot has laid a very substantial foundation for such a campaign. Infectious though it is to see a man enjoying himself so very much, his assumption that the merits of his Bill are too self-evident to require detailed justification, and his trigger-happy assaults on Sir John Donaldson, do make him appear as much a partisan of one side as he claims his opponents to have been of the other.

The Bill for the most part simply restores the situation before 1971 (which was not a golden age of labour relations). The positive side of the Government's policy is based on the proposed Conciliation and Arbitration Service, details of which were published last week. The CAS would take over the work of the Department of Employment's own service of the same name, and also that of the CIR. Both existing organizations would be wound up. There is a certain amount of overlap between the functions of the Department's service and the CIR, but broadly the former provides expert staff to seek compromise between a union and employer in dispute, or to set up arbitration. If the parties think that that would be helpful, the latter advises the minister on general issues in the field, and investigates, at his invitation, or that of the Industrial Court, disputes of a less routine nature than recurrent wage claims (which can often be quite as contentious). Its most effective work has been over recognition disputes.

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## The Broadwater helmet and the alienation of church treasures

From the President of Society of Antiquaries of London and others  
Sir, The recent correspondence about the sale of the important helm from Broadwater Church has raised the whole question of the safe-keeping of the thousands of objects of artistic and historical importance in the churches of this country. In no other group of buildings is so much of our history and culture, and like so many other things that once seemed inviolate, they and their contents have recently been coming under increasing attack, and we have now reached the point where there is a real danger that during the next few years the auction rooms will be flooded with objects from churches.

Since 1970, when the Court of Archbishops, on appeal, a decision by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and the Court of the Duchy of Lancaster, to sell its 16th and 17th-century plate, an increasing amount of parish-poor has been coming into the market: if the case of the Broadwater helm is allowed to set a precedent, it will undoubtedly be followed by other pieces of church-armor coming into the market and there will be a likelihood, if the present system of Faculty Jurisdiction continues unchanged, that these will be followed in turn by sculpture, monuments (including brasses), pewter, woodwork, stained glass and anything else that is salable.

In the Anglican Church—with which we are primarily concerned here, though other denominations own objects of national importance—the responsibility for the care and maintenance of the contents of a cathedral rests with the Dean and Chapter, and of a parish church with the parish priest and churchwardens assisted by a Parochial Church Council. Over a cathedral, the Dean and Chapter have virtually complete control and though they would normally consult the Cathedral's Advisory Committee about historical and artistic matters, they are not legally required to do so, nor are they bound in any way by its advice.

A parish church or chapel, on the other hand, is subject to Faculty Jurisdiction, and the incumbent and churchwardens are legally bound to obtain permission in the form of a faculty from the Diocesan Chancellor before altering, adding to or permanently removing any part of its freehold fabric or contents. The Chancellor will usually consult the appropriate Diocesan Advisory Committee before reaching a decision, and in reaching that decision will often convene a Consistory Court at which he will hear arguments both for and against the issuing of a faculty. He is not, however, bound to do any of these things, nor need he take the advice of his advisory committee, and the final authority for the issuing or withholding of a faculty is entirely his.

Nobody, not even his Bishop, has any legal power to influence his decision, though any person with an interest (in the legal sense of the term) can make an appearance and thereafter lodge an appeal with the Court of Archbishops (or the Province of Canterbury) or the Chancery Court of York (or the Province of York). So far as we are aware no appeal has been made in recent years against anything but a refusal to issue a faculty. Unfortunately the majority of petitions to sell are technically unopposed.

It will be clear from the above that if an incumbent and churchwardens apply for a faculty to sell, however great its historical or artistic importance to the nation as a whole may be, it is at once placed unreservedly in the hands of a single individual with almost despotic powers. The chancellors who wield these powers are invariably lawyers of good standing, and well qualified to deal with the legal aspects of these cases, and possibly also the ethical and theological problems that are often involved, but it is doubtful if many of them are equipped, either by their training or their personal sympathies, to appreciate fully the aesthetic and historical significance of the objects brought before them. It was because of this that the advisory committees were brought

into being, as has been demonstrated by the Broadwater case and others like it, chancellors can dismiss their advice.

It is not for a moment suggested that the Diocesan Chancellors administering the Faculty Jurisdiction with anything other than scrupulous attention to precedent; and many are known to make every proper endeavour to discourage sale of church treasures. Most, though by no means all, of the blame for the alarming situation that has now arisen lies with the system itself which was never designed to cope with requests for permission to sell objects of national importance. However, not only is the existing system inadequate to deal with this problem but there is not even a national Church policy for its uniform administration, which might provide some guidance for chancellors in making their decisions, and the results of similar applications for faculties vary widely between dioceses.

The Church is one of the major trustees of national treasures and cannot, we submit, treat them in the same way that a private individual disposes of his estate or a commercial organization its assets: not as a national institution, should it hold other national treasures to ransom, even though it was long first in this field of trusteeship. If some of the treasures have to be sold the Church is surely morally bound to see that instead of being thrown at short notice into the open market, they are first offered to the appropriate national or local museum for purchase at an agreed valuation, and that any institution that wishes to acquire an object in this way is given at least 12 months in which to raise the money; the agreed valuation would obviously be based upon current market prices.

These are the minimum requirements, and we should like to urge the General Synod of the Church of England to introduce emergency measures to make them mandatory immediately, whatever decision is ultimately reached about general policy towards church treasures. This would at least have the effect of preventing a recurrence of cases like

that of the Broadwater helm.

Last year the General Synod received the report, "Treasures on Earth", of a working party of the Council for Places of Worship, in which a number of very modest suggestions for dealing more responsibly with church treasures within the existing system were made. The report, having made the point, was considered, and especially "its proposals for the provision of an alternative means whereby parishes may divest themselves of unwanted treasures" was reported to the synod with firm proposals and an outline of necessary legislation.

These actions demonstrate that the synod is appreciative of the anxiety widely felt, but it must now be asked if this report goes far enough, and we wish to suggest that it should be abandoned and that a new national committee should be set up, with representatives from all interested bodies, both ecclesiastical and lay, to consider the whole question of the safeguarding of historic cathedrals and churches, of all denominations, and their contents. Who would be responsible for calling such a committee into being and deciding on its terms of reference are matters for discussion. But whatever it may be decided, one thing is clear: the Faculty Jurisdiction must be replaced by a system more responsive to the needs of today.

Yours sincerely,  
J. N. L. MYRZES, President, Society of Antiquaries,  
ROBERT ROWE, President, Museums Association,  
ROY STROUD, Director, Victoria and Albert Museum,  
CECIL FARTHING, President, British Archaeological Association,  
H. M. TAYLOR, President, Royal Archaeological Institute,  
H. K. CAMERON, President, Monumental Brass Society,  
P. LASKO, Director (designate), FLETCHER, Chairman, Advisory Board for Redundant Churches, CLAUDE BLAIR, Victoria and Albert Museum,  
H. RUSSELL ROBINSON, Armouries, HM Tower of London, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1.







# THE TIMES

## BUSINESS NEWS

### Groceries price cutting plan is condensed but made tougher

**By Hugh Clayton**

The Government has revised its plan for holding down grocery prices. The 44 lines involved have been reduced by most two-thirds. The list of basic household necessities is all groceries will have to sell at a price no higher than the price of the same goods in the last week of March. The list of basic household necessities is all groceries will have to sell at a price no higher than the price of the same goods in the last week of March. The list of basic household necessities is all groceries will have to sell at a price no higher than the price of the same goods in the last week of March.

### Wage rates held steady in April

**By Melvyn Westlake**

Average earnings showed a strong recovery in March following the ending of three-day working, but the increase in wage rates subsequently has been comparatively modest, according to figures released yesterday by the Department of Employment.

### Slowdown in growth of money supply

**By Ian Morrison**

Banking statistics for the four weeks to April 17, released yesterday, show that the growth of the broad version of the money supply (M3) slowed down for the fourth month running. Indeed, during the past three months it has risen at its slowest rate since autumn, 1971.

### Overseas sales surge helps ICI to double first-quarter profits

**By Anthony Rowley**

Imperial Chemical Industries, Britain's largest industrial group, virtually doubled its profits in the first quarter of this year—from £63m to £122m before tax.

### 'Hammered' Mitton may owe clients over £1m

**By Our Financial Editor**

Clients of Mitton, Butler, Priest & Co. stockbrokers, company "hammered" at the end of March, could be owed over £1m. This was one of several provisional figures given by the joint liquidators at a creditors' meeting yesterday.

### Property sector worried by the prospect of large scale sales needed to raise cash

**Christopher Whittins**

The prospect of substantial property sales by the Lyons group and the Starn group is causing deep concern in the property market. It is feared that a pressure on the two companies to sell assets quickly to raise cash could lead to a loss of value.

### Prime rate increase by First Chicago

**From Frank Vogt**

Washington, May 20

The First National Bank of Chicago led the way again today with another prime rate rise. It took the prime lending rate to 11 1/2 per cent.

### Aerospatiale to build wings for Hawker's HS 146 airliner

**By Arthur Reed**

Air Correspondent

The French aircraft manufacturer Aerospatiale is to build the wings for the Hawker Siddeley HS 146, a new British airliner designed to carry between 70 and 100 passengers.

### Statoil discovery near Brent field

**By Roger Viole**

Energy Correspondent

Yet another major oilfield has been found in the North Sea to the east of the Shetlands—this time on the Norwegian side of the boundary line.

### Giscard victory boosts franc, but market cautious

**From Richard Wigg**

Paris, May 20

In an immediate "salute" to M Valéry Giscard d'Estaing for his presidential victory, the franc improved generally today on Paris money markets.

### How the markets moved

Rises		Falls	
Albright & W	14p to 40p	Bass Charrington	2p to 8p
Bruntons	5p to 3p	Carroll's	5p to 27p
Bowler Corp	1p to 15p	Dacia Bids	5p to 4p
Countdown	4p to 11p	Debenhams	5p to 6p
Colson Grp	20p to 15p	Greenall	4p to 5p
Foster Int	12p to 11p	Heath	4p to 3p
FC Finance	8p to 6p	Lockwoods Fds	10p to 4p

### THE POUND

	Bank	Bank
	buy	sell
Australia	1.675	1.63
Austria	43.75	41.75
Belgium	9.45	9.45
Canada	2.365	2.315
Denmark	14.45	14.05
Finland	9.05	8.80
France	1.00	1.00
Germany DM	6.00	5.80
Greece Dr	72.00	70.00
Hongkong	12.25	11.90
Italy Lr	1685.00	1635.00
Japan Yn	695.00	670.00
Netherlands Gld	6.35	6.15
Norway Kr	13.05	12.70
Portugal Esc	60.25	57.50
S Africa Rd	1.92	1.82
Spain Pes	142.00	137.00
Sweden Kr	10.50	10.30
Switzerland Fr	7.15	6.90
US \$	2.46	2.41
Yugoslavia Dnr	36.25	34.25

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### USTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND BANKING GROUP LIMITED

May, 1974

The Directors of Australia and New Zealand Banking Group Limited have declared an interim dividend in respect of the year ending 30th September, 1974 of 4.5 pence per share, payable on 9th July, 1974 to shareholders registered in the books of the Company at the close of business on 6 June, 1974.

### Points from the Annual Statement to Shareholders by the Chairman, Mr. W. Leonard Barrows, J.P., LL.D., F.C.A.

Our Interim Report for the half year to June 1973, said that we anticipated achieving considerably better results in the second six months. This anticipation was realised. Turnover was increased substantially so that a trading profit of £4,638,000 was achieved in the second six months. This not only eliminated the shortfall of the first six months but made up a trading profit of £8,929,000 for the full year—an increase of £533,000 over 1972.

### Forecasting is more than usually difficult in view of the present uncertain national and international picture but the worldwide spread of our manufacturing and servicing interests is a considerable source of strength and we believe the results for this year will be comparable with those now presented.

This is my last statement as Chairman as I am about to reach my retirement age agreed some time ago. My best wishes go to the Deputy Chairman and Managing Director, Mr. R. C. Hale who has been elected to succeed me and I welcome to the Board Mr. G. B. R. Feilden and Sir St. John Elstob as non-executive directors.

### The Report and Accounts can be obtained from The Secretary, Avey's Limited, Smithwick, Warley, Worcestershire.

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## ITALSIDER IN 1973

Finsider Group

The General Meeting of Shareholders in ITALSIDER was held at the company's head office in Via Corsica 4, Genoa, on 30th April under the chairmanship of Enrico Redaelli, President. The shareholders unanimously approved the reports by the Board of Directors and the Committee of Auditors, as well as the Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss Account at 31st December, 1973.

ITALSIDER's trading results during the previous year were satisfactory. The company's higher earnings that had been made possible by the more favourable market situation and its increased production, despite losses due to strikes during the first quarter, helped to offset the sharp rises in all costs and to create a profit margin.

Following L. 102,900 million provision for depreciation, the year ended with a profit of L. 19,800 million which, together with other balance sheet available funds, fully covered losses during previous years.

In 1973 ITALSIDER produced 9,141,000 metric tons of steel, 44% of total national output, while its turnover was L. 1,032,900 million.

The company's marketing policy was to satisfy the requirements of Italian industry to the extent possible: 90.6% of rolled steel was delivered to the home market, compared with 83.2% in 1972 and 79.9% in 1971. Deliveries to the Italian market rose by 21% over the preceding year, while exports fell by 38%. Prices on the internal market were held at levels that were generally lower than the average in outside countries.

Substantial new plant was constructed and commissioned in all factories, in particular in Taranto where works that will double the size of the iron and steel complex are due to be virtually completed in 1974. In all its production units, ITALSIDER is heavily committed towards finding a solution to ecological problems and improving working conditions.

On 31st December last year the company employed 49,000. The Directors' report stated that following settlement of the dispute on the renewal of the national engineering workers' labour contract, an additional agreement has also been reached on a supplementary contract between the company and its workers. ITALSIDER has concentrated its efforts on the vocational training of those in its employ, keeping them abreast of the latest developments.

Through continuous consultation with the unions, it has embarked upon concrete measures in this field under the new structure for its work force. The basic features of organisational reform have already been introduced, the aim being to achieve closer participation and maximum decentralisation of responsibilities.

Despite the general situation in which costs are constantly rising, especially the price of raw materials, the commissioning of new plant and more intensive use of recently installed equipment should enable ITALSIDER to compete increasingly effectively with the leading world iron and steel industries and to satisfy the growing need for steel in Italy, under what is hoped will be normal production conditions.

Following the resignation of Tullio Masturzo and Tullio Torchiani from the Board and the death of Domenico Taccone, Sanzio Dainotti, Prof. Salvatore Guidotti and Licio Quaranta were nominated by the General Meeting by acclamation as members of the Board to which they had already been co-opted.

The Meeting was attended by shareholders holding or representing 214,300,056 shares, equivalent to 82% of the share capital.

Many of the shareholders spoke in the course of the Meeting and replied to the questions raised there given by the Chairman, Enrico Redaelli, President, and the Managing Director, Luigi Pitaluga.



## Pre-tax profits top £1 million Confident of future

**RESULTS**  
Turnover for the past year was higher by 37.6% and profits before tax increased by 70.5%. The dividend is the maximum permitted and a one-for-two scrip issue is proposed.

**PROSPECTS**  
The Company has been quick to take advantage of the tremendous upsurge in the demand for civil engineering work associated with the discovery and exploitation of oil and natural gas in the North Sea. The current level of the order book will ensure a further increase in turnover this year and the future of the group is viewed with confidence.

	1974	1973	1972
Year ended 31st January			
Turnover	£1,000	£700	£500
Profit before Tax	1,052	617	210
Profit after Tax	550	360	171
Net Dividend	2,254p	2,10p	1,83p
Earnings per share	11.63p	7.62p	3.61p

F J C LILLEY LIMITED  
CIVIL ENGINEERING CONTRACTORS

The Annual General Meeting will be held in Glasgow at 12 noon on Tuesday 4th June 1974.

## Marine engineers call for state finance to back seabed technology

By Roger Vielvoye  
Energy Correspondent

A British oceanic authority to coordinate and stimulate the development of the marine engineering industry was suggested yesterday by the British National Committee on Ocean Engineering (BNCOE).

The suggestion comes in evidence to the study group set up by the Commons Select Committee on Science and Technology to investigate national policy on seabed engineering.

The development of underwater engineering techniques has been pushed into prominence by the discovery of offshore oil reserves in areas where the water is too deep for conventional production methods. Several solutions to the problems are being developed but, as yet, there is no coordinated policy.

BNCOE envisages that the

authority would be a statutory board supported by both the state and the marine engineering industry. The Government should allocate an annual budget in the region of £125m for the "support and development of Britain's participation in marine activities" matched by a similar amount from industry, it adds.

The £250m was related to the present rates of investment in these activities and the need to develop "big technology". At the head of the authority would be a prominent figure with at least as great a political and business stature as the chairman of the nationalised industries. He would have ready access to the Prime Minister and other senior ministers.

Overall responsibility for the authority would rest with the Secretary of State for Industry. The Government would provide a direct income for the organization and the remainder would

come from other Government departments or bodies—both private and public—for whom work was undertaken by the authority.

In its evidence the committee said: "While the principal aim of the BNCOE must be to promote the interest of professional engineers, and through them the public at large, we find in the field of ocean activities a situation which can only be improved by our actions on the Government to provide a framework within which engineers can work for the benefit of the community as a whole."

Seabed engineering was an extension of several existing branches of engineering in new interdisciplinary groupings, often on scales greater than had been encountered on land. There was the need to establish broad new interfaces to bring together the resources required and give them the impetus needed to make progress.

## Rail-oriented Tunnel aim scorned by MP

By Michael Bailey  
Transport Correspondent

This Government does not have money in abundance for "grandiose projects of national prestige" such as the Channel Tunnel, Mr Leslie Huchfield, MP, Labour's transport specialist, said yesterday. He questioned current attempts to help British Rail by making the project more rail-oriented.

"It is a little late in the day to promote the Channel Tunnel as the great saviour of British Railways," he told the eastern section of the Road Haulage Association in Ipswich. "The minister told the House a month ago that all the figures were being reexamined with a view to making the whole thing more rail-oriented, but I don't see how that can happen."

## Insurance men say EEC 'vital for our future'

A strong plea for Britain's continued membership of the European Community was made yesterday by Mr Francis Perkins, president of the Corporation of Insurance Brokers. "The choice as I see it is either for Britain to throw its full weight in behind the United States of Europe or to face the possibility of becoming by the end of the century the peasants of Europe."

Investigations had shown that the growth of insurance kept in line with the pace of economic growth. "If the British economy were to decline—as I believe it would if we came out of the Community—then we are condemning ourselves to a reduced rate of business at home and an inability to retain our position in world insurance."

"I believe that our continued membership of the Community is utterly vital to our future."

forbids the tunnel operating authority to discriminate between road and rail traffic and most of the estimates show that carrying cars and lorries on the rolling underwater motorway will be more profitable than straight train traffic. The Channel Tunnel Co, dominated by Rio Tinto-Zinc, aren't in this to help the railways; they're in it for the money. And a taxpayer's guarantee makes sure they can't lose out.

Financial stringency and the decision to put things like housing first meant there would be little money for transport—either road or rail—under this government, Mr Huchfield said. Meanwhile the great debate still rages within the Labour movement on how the objective of a "coordinated, integrated transport system" should be achieved.

## FMC chief speaks out for British aid policy

Sir John Stratton, president of FMC, called yesterday for a five-year plan with annual reviews to overcome cyclical phases in meat production. "It is too much to hope that our minister can start by selling overseas customers to his EEC colleagues to solve the long-term problem, while at the same time obtaining agreement to plug the obvious short-term holes?" he asked.

John said at the opening of a new abattoir at Castle Bromwich, that succeeding governments had been "consistently faint-hearted and guilty of short-term thinking on the question of meat supplies."

## Vehicle exhaust system said to offer economies

A vehicle exhaust system which is claimed to cut fuel costs, reduce noise level and lessen pollution has been developed by a small Leeds company and is being evaluated by Leeds University.

Tests so far have shown that the system could save passenger transport authorities and heavy vehicle operators as much as 11p in the £1.

## Business appointments

### Mr R. Thornton as Debenhams' chief executive

Mr R. C. Thornton has been elected to the board of Debenhams and will become chief executive of the group on July 1. [Business diary, page 23]

Mr R. F. Nicholas has been made managing director of the Midlands Electric Manufacturing Co. Mr Alec Russell joined the board of the Frigate Group.

Mr E. B. Rowland has become managing director of the Bantley Publishing Group's trade book division and Mr R. J. Chopping and Mr C. M. Canal have joined the group on July 1. [Business diary, page 23]

Mr B. Rowland has become managing director of the Bantley Publishing Group's trade book division and Mr R. J. Chopping and Mr C. M. Canal have joined the group on July 1. [Business diary, page 23]

Mr Ben Franklin has become a director of Dalgety Potatoes. Mr Geoffrey Farrington, chairman and managing director of Crampall, has become chairman of the British Throwers Association in succession to Tom Fraser, managing director of Chapman Fraser.

Mr Owen Green, managing director of ETC, has been named as president of the British Rubber Manufacturers' Association. He succeeds J. F. Swanborough, managing director of the Avon Rubber Co, who retired as president after a second term.

Mr D. Wilson, of Walsall Council, has been elected chairman of the British Electrical Systems Association, and Mr M. T. Gilbert, of Gilflex Conduits, has been chosen as vice-chairman.

## Patent news

### Hovercraft principle for ship repairs

The British Hovercraft Corporation suggests in BP 1 349 093 that the basic hovercraft principle may be used to facilitate the repair of large ships, such as oil tankers, in dry dock.

When such a ship has a damaged skin on part of its hull bottom, a repair unit is positioned beneath the damaged area in dry dock. The unit, which weighs about 1,000 tons, is provided with lateral skirts and is raised slightly off the ground in hover fashion by air pumped under high pressure into the space defined by the skirts.

The floating repair unit can now be moved crabwise into, directly under the damaged area of the hull, to raise a large inflatable cushion, in collapsed state inside the skirt are then inflated under extremely high pressure to ram the repair unit 6ft or so upwards against the damaged hull.

### Safer car seats

Ford Motor Company in BP 1 348 873 explains how, with conventional car seats, there is a risk that the occupant will

slide forward and down in his seat in a crash, even if he is wearing a safety belt. This means that his knees are smashed on the dashboard.

Ford now proposes that all seats should be built in bucket form with the central part lower than the front and have a built-in barrier to forward sliding in a crash.

### Motorcycle cooling

Mr Francis Sheppard, of Oudby, Leicester, in BP 1 348 989 contends that conventional four-stroke motor cycle engines of the opposed cylinder type (with cylinder pairs arranged oppositely end-to-end and the crankshaft between) are a problem to mount correctly.

If mounted horizontally, as is the case, the rear cylinder is slanted downwards and the front cylinder is slanted upwards and rearward below the level of the rear cylinder.

Adrian Hope

# Commercial Union Assurance Company Limited

The Annual General Meeting of Commercial Union Assurance Company Limited was held yesterday in London. The Chairman, Mr F. E. P. Sandilands, addressing shareholders commented on the 1974 first quarter's results. He said:

Our net written Fire, Accident and Marine premiums are £192 million against £159 million for the first quarter of last year but the two figures are not strictly comparable because this year we are consolidating the figures of "Delta-Lloyd" which has contributed just over £13 million of premiums. There is an underwriting loss for the first quarter of this year of £4.5 million, which includes a loss of £800,000 from "Delta-Lloyd", against £6.8 million last year.

Investment income contributes £16.1 million, which includes £1.8 million from "Delta-Lloyd", against £11.5 million last year. Life profits and our share of associated company profits amount to £1.1 million compared with £1.3 million last year. After deducting loan interest and minorities the pre-tax profit comes out at £8 million against £2.7 million a year ago. After providing for taxation the net profit is £4.5 million against £1.8 million and earnings per share are 2.22p against .90p.

These much better results are due first to an improvement in our underwriting experience in most parts of the world though in Canada the Fire experience has deteriorated; and we have taken a more cautious view of our current Australian results than we did a year ago and have not drawn upon the provision for 1974 losses in that country that we made in the accounts for the year 1973. While there is an underwriting loss in the United States which is usual in the first quarter, our experience there is substantially unchanged.

The second reason for our better results is that investment income is continuing to benefit from the prevailing high interest rates and also from the sales of U.S. Equities early in 1973 and the reinvestment of the proceeds in short term bonds.

The results for the first quarter of any year should not be regarded as a guide to those for the year as a whole but it is nonetheless satisfactory to report that we have made a good start in 1974.

I have already paid tribute in my Review of last year's results to our management and staff throughout the world. Mr Dunlop and his senior management team, both here in head office and in our operating divisions in the many countries where we do business, bear a very heavy burden of responsibility and a formidable heavy work load. It is due to their tireless efforts and determination that the extremely creditable results which we have had before us to-day are largely due and I know the shareholders will wish me to thank them all on their behalf.

## Results for the three months ended 31st March 1974

The following are the estimated and unaudited results of the Company for the three months to the 31st March 1974 together with comparative figures for the same period to the 31st March 1973 and the actual results for the year 1973.

	3 months to 31 March 1974 (Estimated) £m	3 months to 31 March 1973 (Estimated) £m	Year 1973 (Actual) £m
Net Written Premiums	191.7	159.3	642.2
Underwriting			
Fire, Accident and Marine	(-).45	(-).68	(-).55
Investment Income	16.1	11.5	59.5
Life Assurance Profits	.8	.7	2.7
Share of Associated Company's Profits	.3	.6	2.6
Trading Profit	12.7	6.0	59.3
Loan Interest	4.5	3.1	15.5
Minorities	.2	.2	.7
Profit before Taxation	4.7	3.3	16.2
Taxation	8.0	2.7	43.1
Profit after Taxation	3.5	.9	16.7
Earnings per Share	4.5	1.8	26.4
	2.22p	.90p	12.99p

As usual, the results of the Company's overseas operations have been converted at rates of exchange ruling at the close of the periods reported above. As announced at the end of April, we have sold 36% of our Head Office, St. Helen's, to three major U.K. Pension Funds for approximately £30.0m.

20th May 1974

Insure with  
Commercial Union Assurance



## INTERIM STATEMENT

# WOOLWORTH

## Interim Report

Three months ended 30th April 1974

The Board of Directors present the following statement of profit of the company and its subsidiaries for the three months ended 30th April 1974 with comparative figures for 1973/1974:

	3 months ended 30th April 1974 £000's	3 months ended 30th April 1973 £000's	4 months ended 30th April 1974 £000's	13 months ended 31st Jan. 1974 £000's
Total turnover (note 1)	87,829	91,813	117,483	462,575
Less Value added tax	5,888	2,187	2,187	22,884
Turnover (excluding value added tax)	81,941	89,626	115,296	439,691
Trading profit before depreciation	6,224	8,208	8,916	48,225
Less depreciation of fixed assets	1,718	1,022	1,383	4,765
Interest paid less received	5,108	7,188	8,533	43,460
Rents received	(353)	(743)	11	(1,120)
Profits on sale of properties and investments after adjusting for depreciation of investments	79	85	83	284
Profit before taxation	4,673	7,446	9,156	43,310
Taxation (note 2)	2,430	3,500	4,300	19,884
Profit after taxation	2,243	3,946	4,856	23,426

Notes: 1. Value added tax commenced on 1st April 1973 and has been included in total turnover to make comparison with the earlier periods shown in the statement above, for part of which sales included purchases tax.

2. Corporation tax has been provided at the rate of 52% for the 3 months ended 30th April 1974, compared with the composite rate of 47.2% for the earlier periods shown in the statement above.

Due to the effects of the three-day week on consumer spending and the difficulties in obtaining some supplies, sales during the period were insufficient to offset the very heavy increases in both wage costs and general operating costs.

The present profit margins are already within the reference levels permitted by recent legislation which therefore does not immediately affect the company. However the full implications of the legislation on the retail trade as a whole have yet to emerge and it is too early to make any firm prediction as to profits for the full financial year.

F. W. WOOLWORTH & CO. LIMITED

Woolworth House, 242/244, Marylebone Road, London NW1 6JL

# BANCO DI SICILIA

Chartered Bank with Head Office in Palermo  
Capital and Reserve L. 92,775,175,916  
CONSOLIDATED BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1973  
(in millions of lire)

LIABILITIES		ASSETS	
Capital and reserve	92,038	Cash in hand and available	149,459
Special reserve	1,046	Investments	760,287
Development funds	83,894	Holdings and development loans	33,098
Registered bonds in issue	139,365	Advances in lire	2,321,133
Accounts and deposits in lire and in foreign currencies	2,437,593	Advances in foreign currencies	353,251
Debentures outstanding	777,041	Premises	19,974
Transferees of bills rediscounted and advances assigned	121,068	Customers' liabilities for guarantees forward securities and forward exchange transactions	233,109
Outstanding guarantees forward securities and forward exchange contracts	233,109	Provisional tax collection agencies	115,054
Provisional tax collection agencies	115,054	Sundry debtors and miscellaneous assets	518,346
Amortisation fund—premises	467,444	Accruals and prepayments	24,731
Sundry creditors and miscellaneous liabilities	57,823		
Accruals and prepayments	1,242		
Profit for the year	4,528,547	Total assets	4,528,547
Total	2,169,168	Liability and contra accounts	2,169,168
Liability and contra accounts	6,698,715		6,698,715

The General Board of the Bank, convened in ordinary session on 30 April, 1974, approved the balance sheet and accounts for 1973, the principal items being the following: the increase to Lit. 3,438,000 million (+27%) in funds entrusted to the Bank and the increase to Lit. 2,675,000 million (+28%) in ordinary and special loans. Banking and liquidity reserve assets reached Lit. 910,000 million. After the allocation of the net profits the Bank's capital funds totalled Lit. 92,775 million, of which Lit. 53,647 million represent reserves.



# For the future: new investment, greater security of employment, bigger exports

Addressing stockholders at the 47th Annual General Meeting of Imperial Chemical Industries Limited, held in London on May 20th, the Chairman, Sir Jack Cullard, said: "You will have received the Annual Report for 1973 and I do not need to add much in the way of general comment on a very successful year—the best in ICI's history."

"Group profits speak for themselves: at £311 million before tax they were more than double those in 1972, and by a long way the highest we have ever achieved. I have two regrets: that because of inflation this is less than it seems, and that our results cannot be reflected in a dividend increase of more than five per cent over that paid last year."

## INVALUABLE STRENGTHS

"For virtually the whole year the tide was going our way, with demand for our products running at a very high level in the United Kingdom, and throughout the world as a whole. We were able to turn this situation to good account because the policies and investments of previous years had given us invaluable strengths."

"We had the production capacity we needed, with nearly all plants working smoothly near their designed rate of output or above it."

"We had the markets: our spread of manufacturing interests overseas, and our world-wide export outlets, meant that, while still serving customers in this country, we could benefit from the higher prices and opportunities elsewhere. More than half our profits and fifty-seven per cent of our sales were made overseas, and our exports rose by thirty-eight per cent. To Common Market countries they increased by sixty-three per cent, and whereas we do not claim this as a result of joining the EEC, the figure should be of interest to anyone who doubts the value to industry of Britain's membership."

"We had the products—the outcome of a vigorous research and capital programme. And we had the human resources—people of many skills and nationalities, progressively accounting for higher output per head and narrowing the productivity gap between ICI and the best of its competitors."

"These strengths are worth emphasising now because they will continue to be important to the Group's prosperity. When I talk of the Group's prosperity, I am not thinking just of the dividends we pay or the salaries we earn. I am thinking also of the jobs we provide, our contribution to the United Kingdom's national revenue, and our contribution to the balance of payments—a net £220 million last year. I am thinking, too, of the massive research effort we must mount in order to discover products such as our heart drugs, which have brought to some millions of people throughout the world the chance of a prolonged and more active life. I am pleased that, in these ways, the Com-

pany has contributed to the increase in wealth and health of this country and of the many countries in which we operate. The performance of our companies in Europe, Canada, the United States, Australasia and elsewhere has paralleled our activities here."

## CASH POSITION

"I should like to comment on financial matters. Apart from the record profits, the return on assets employed was also a record at eighteen per cent."

"The charge for taxation, at £130 million, was considerably more than in 1972 because of the greater profits and higher tax rate. Credits to profits in respect of Government grants were little changed. After taxation and grants, and after allowing for the share of profits applicable to minorities and for preference dividends, the profit applicable to ICI ordinary stockholders was £183 million. This was almost exactly double the 1972 figure, and stockholders could quite reasonably have looked for significantly higher dividends, but, as I mentioned earlier, we are not permitted to increase them by more than five per cent over 1972's level of 14p (gross). You will know that the second dividend, paid on 5th April at the rate of 5.25p per share, was declared at a second interim because this Annual General Meeting had to be postponed and the Board wanted stockholders to receive their dividend at the normal time; you will be asked later in the Meeting to confirm it as the final dividend for the year."

"Mainly because of the much higher earnings and changes in the tax system affecting dividends, £134 million was retained for further development of the business—a figure higher than any in our history."

"There was a marked improvement in the Group's cash position during the year. Our requirements for new fixed capital expenditure and other investment amounted to £146 million. That was somewhat below recent levels, but the amount needed for additional working capital, £96 million, was considerably greater, largely because of the increased trading activity. These cash requirements were more than met from the funds generated directly by trading operations—after retention plus depreciation. Taking into account other miscellaneous receipts and the proceeds of modest new borrowings overseas, the Group's liquid resources increased by £113 million to nearly £200 million. With capital expenditure in 1974 expected to be more than £200 million, and with the inevitable need for more working capital, our liquid position at the beginning of this year is a significant strength."

## NEW INVESTMENT

"Our assessment of the future market for many of our major products suggests a continually increasing demand, which calls for further investment. This seems a good moment to reiterate a simple economic truth—the direct relationship between profit and investment. The force of this often seems to be forgotten by people who create opinions in



this country without necessarily being close to the business world. In 1974, our profit before tax stood at £130 million, and in the following year we sanctioned new plants at a level of £99 million. After improved profits in 1972, our sanctions last year totalled £180 million; and this year, after record profits in 1973, we are, following a recent review of the capital programme, now planning to sanction expenditure of approximately £300 million—an increase of £50 million on the figure which I gave at our Press Conference in March."

"Governments are always interested in investment by industry, because it means growth and more jobs. I can assure the Government—and future ones, of whatever party—that in this Company a better profit performance leads to bigger and better investment plans. This I think brings me to the point when I ought to define more precisely what I mean by profit."

## IMPACT OF INFLATION

"We are living in inflationary times—and all of us know only too well how quickly a £1 note seems to buy less and less. Inflation affects your Company just as much as it affects every one of us; let me try to explain as simply as I can the impact of inflation on the results for 1973."

"You will know that most companies' accounts are drawn up on what is termed the historical cost basis. This, quite simply, means that all past expenditure is recorded as the number of pounds and pence actually spent and all receipts are similarly recorded as the number of pounds and pence actually received. This sounds all right until you remember that the biggest single item of past expenditure which affects this year's accounts is the money spent in earlier years on fixed assets, mainly buildings, plant and equipment. In the accounts, this expenditure is deducted from profits over a period of years corresponding to the working life of the assets and is called depreciation. But, because this depreciation is based on the out-of-date past cost of the plants and the cost of new plants is rising rapidly, the total sums set aside as depreciation are now too small to provide for the replacement of the plants when they are worn out. If depreciation is understated, then profits must be overstated. This means that the profit retained in the business—the level of which may appear to be abnormally high—has got to be sufficient not only to finance some element of growth of the business but also to meet the heavy additional cost of replacing obsolete assets."

"Moreover, because the assets are shown in the Balance Sheet at historical cost, the profits of the year, when expressed as a percentage of those assets, give a figure which is artificially high. It is essential that we do not delude ourselves when looking at such figures; the proper comparison is, therefore, between the profits of the year, which are in current pounds, and the cost in current pounds of replacing the assets which have earned those profits rather than with what the assets happened to have cost us years ago. To give you some indication of what the 1973 figures would look like if adjusted, we estimate first, that the £311 million Group profits before tax would have been some fifty millions of pounds less, and second, the profitability of the business, shown as eighteen per cent on page 39 of the Annual Report, would have been several

percentage points lower. Bearing in mind the present cost of new money, you will see that in real terms our 1973 profitability is no more than adequate for the future prosperity of the business."

"Inflation also affects working capital, that is broadly the raw materials we hold for use in our productive processes. When raw material prices are rising, we can only replace those we use at higher cost, and so have to employ more cash."

"But the problem does not stop there. Because our business is growing, the volume of raw materials we have to carry is increasing all the time, so that still more cash is required. This extra cash has to come from profits retained in the business—yet another need for adequate profits."

"The accountancy profession has recently issued a provisional accounting standard encouraging public companies to publish supplementary statements showing what the results would be after adjusting for inflation. The standard is called 'provisional' because a Government committee has been set up under the Chairmanship of Mr. Francis Sandilands with a wide remit to enquire into whether and by what method company accounts should be adjusted for inflation. This committee is actively collecting evidence, but it is not expected to report for some time. I believe that we, as a company, have a duty to ensure that the full effects of inflation are brought home to all who are interested in the profitability and viability of industry, although there are differing views about the best way to do this. Your Board will be giving the most careful thought to this problem during the coming months."

## PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS IN 1974

"You will want me now to give you some idea of our prospects for 1974. I am glad to tell you that our progress has been maintained. Our first quarter results have just been delivered to the Stock Exchange and I will give you the essential figures as published by the Board this morning. Total sales were £661 million, that is thirty-six per cent higher than in the first quarter last year; sales in the United Kingdom were £273 million, an increase of twenty-four per cent, and those overseas were £388 million, a forty-five per cent increase. Profits before tax were £122 million, and this compares with £63 million for the corresponding quarter of last year and £92 million for the fourth quarter. Exports from the United Kingdom increased most of all and totalled £154 million, far and away the highest figure in the history of the Company. My earlier remarks about the effects of inflation apply with even greater force to these first quarter results."

"The important thing about these results is that they show how we have been able to benefit from our world-wide business and so to ride adverse conditions at home. Our market here, although it remained surprisingly good, was restricted by the energy crisis and three-day week, but we have many other markets; and because we had our own electrical generating capacity for a large part of our needs, we could maintain a high volume of output at home to supply these markets."

"As for the rest of 1974, the picture is far from clear. It is impossible to predict with any certainty the precise level of demand for our products, both at home and abroad, and our prosperity is dependent on the maintenance of

high output. We are concerned particularly that world trade stays at a high level and that the volume of trade is not adversely affected by the financial problems resulting from the higher prices of oil and other raw materials. One certainty is that our bill for raw materials will be higher than last year's—by about £180 million in the United Kingdom alone. We shall hope to recover these extra costs in higher selling prices at home and overseas, but there is no guarantee of this. I spoke last year about the disparity between the prices we could charge in the United Kingdom, restricted by the Government's counter-inflation legislation, and the prices we could get overseas. Nothing has happened to alter this situation—in fact, for many products the disparity has grown as free market prices have climbed. Our current investment plans have been made on the assumption that prices here cannot be held below world prices for much longer, but, if the distortion is allowed to continue, it is bound to affect our plans."

## INCREASED COSTS

"A large part of the increase in raw materials costs will be accounted for by oil, which has quadrupled in price since mid-1973. Although we have not been seriously hampered so far by shortage of oil for feedstock or fuel, there is still some uncertainty about supplies. In the longer term—and I must emphasise that I am not talking now of this year, or even next—we should have an assured source for at least part of our supplies. We have a twenty-six per cent share in the Burmah Oil Company consortium which has recently announced a find of commercial quantities of oil in the North Sea off the Shetland Isles, and while much remains to be done before we can benefit, I must say that this news is most encouraging."

"The March Budget has raised the cost of many services such as electricity and transport, and of employers' National Insurance contributions; it has also increased the direct burden of Corporation Tax and diminished our cash flow because of increased Advance Corporation Tax payments. Changes are also being considered in the legislation affecting wages and salaries, and I must remind you that we are only permitted to pass on part of any increase in remuneration costs in our selling prices."

## CONTRIBUTION TO ECONOMY

"These are some of the factors and possibilities that must be taken into account when considering our performance during the remainder of 1974. The year has started well, and we believe that overall it will be a good one. However, views differ over the level of trade generally during the second half of this year. We are optimistic about the future and we have already sanctioned a number of major projects this year, despite the uncertainty which the Government has created for private industry."

"Over the years, ICI has made an ever-growing contribution to the national economy and, if left to get on with the job, I believe it will continue to do so, providing new investment, and hence greater security of employment, and even bigger export earnings."

## DIRECTORATE

"Turning now to the Board, there have been several changes since our last Meeting. March saw the retirement after long service of Sir Michael Clapham, one of our Deputy Chairmen, and Mr. George Whitby, an executive Director. We shall miss the advice and experience of both. Sir Michael's services as President of the Confederation of British Industry were recognised last year by the award of a KBE—an honour that gave great pleasure to all his colleagues. In January this year Mr. G. D. A. Kiljnsra was appointed a non-executive Director. Mr. Kiljnsra is Chairman of Unilever N.V. and a Vice-Chairman of Unilever Limited, and we are fortunate to have the benefit of his advice. We must also congratulate him on receiving an Honorary KBE this year. More recently, Mr. Robert Haslam, previously Chairman of Fibres Division, has joined the Board as an executive Director."

## TRIBUTE TO EMPLOYEES

"Finally, I know you will join me in congratulating the Group's employees throughout the world for their part in achieving last year's splendid results. I believe we should also take this opportunity to say a special word of thanks to those in the United Kingdom; their willingness to improvise and to put up with all sorts of difficulties and discomforts, was the crucial factor in bringing us so successfully through the state of emergency earlier this year."



## First three months' results 1974

Unaudited figures of trading results

1973		Year	1974
First Quarter	Year		First Quarter
£ millions	£ millions		£ millions
487	2166	Sales to external customers	661
63	311	Profit before Taxation and Grants	122
37	157	After providing for Depreciation	40
-22	-112	Taxation	-54
2	9	Regional Development grants	4
43	208	Profit after Taxation and Grants	72
-4	-24	Applicable to minorities	-5
39	184	Profit after Taxation and Grants applicable to ICI Ltd.	67

Group sales in the first quarter of 1974 amounted to £661m which is 36% higher than in the corresponding quarter last year. Sales in the U.K. increased from £273m to £273m (up 24%) and those overseas from £287m to £388m (up 45%). The job value of exports rose from £93m in the first quarter 1973 to £154m in the current quarter (up 66%); this included exports to EEC which rose by 93%. Thus, the substantial increase in Group sales was due mainly to sales made overseas both from local manufacture and from U.K. exports.

Similarly about two-thirds of the record Group profits in the first quarter arose from business overseas, especially exports from the U.K., on which margins were substantially higher than on home sales. Demand in the U.K. was somewhat restricted by the energy crisis and the three day week but, helped by our own electrical generating capacity, output was maintained at a high volume, thus enabling us to increase supplies to overseas markets.

The following table summarises the quarterly sales and profits before taxation.

Group sales		Group profit before tax	
£ millions		£ millions	
1973	First quarter	487	63
	Second quarter	537	74
	Third quarter	551	82
	Fourth quarter	591	92
		2,166	311

1974 First quarter

The charge for taxation in the first quarter of 1974 consists of £40 million of corporation tax, £12 million overseas tax and £5 million of tax on principal associated companies, less credits of £4 million for investment grants.















## Latest dividends

## Wall Street

**ing cuts 230 pts off copper**

A black and white portrait of a man with short, dark hair, wearing a dark suit jacket, a light-colored shirt, and a dark tie. He is looking directly at the camera with a neutral expression. The background is a plain, light color.

# Royal Insurance

# Underwriting Results Affected by Inflation

# ooks after you

## Summary of Consolidated Results

	1973 £m	1972 £m
<b>General Insurance</b>		
Premium Income	574.7	503.6
<b>Earnings</b>		
General Insurance		
Underwriting Result	-5.0	12.4
Investment Income		
on Stockholders' and		
General Insurance Funds	44.0	36.8
Stockholders' Long-term		
Insurance Profits	1.3	1.3
Share of Associated		
Company's Profit	0.6	0.3
<b>Profit before taxation</b>	40.9	50.8
<b>less UK and Overseas</b>		
Taxation (see Note 1)	14.7	15.0
Minority Interests	0.1	0.1
<b>Net Profit</b>	26.1	35.7
(per unit of stock—see Note 2)	(21.9p)	(30.2p)
<b>Dividend</b>		
Interim	5.3	7.1
Second Interim	8.6	—
Final	—	8.1
<b>Total</b>	13.9	15.2
(per unit of stock)	(11.7p)	*(12.8p)
<b>Profit retained</b>	12.2	20.5

**Notes**

1. The tax figure for the year 1973 is based on an average UK Corporation Tax rate of 49%. The tax figure for 1972 was calculated at the Corporation Tax rate of 40% applying for that year.
2. The figures given for earnings per stock unit are not comparable because of the change in the basis of taxation.

# Royal Insurance looks after you fast







**Taylor  
Woodrow**

ACCOUNT DAYS: Dealings Began, May 13 Dealings End, May 23 § Contango Day, May 24 Settlement Day, June 4  
§ Forward bargains are permitted on two previous days

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Stock	Price	Change	Low Company Price	High Company Price	Stock	Price	Change	Low Company Price	High Company Price	Stock	Price	Change	Low Company Price	High Company Price
FUND														
AAA	100.00		AAA	100.00	AAA	100.00		AAA	100.00	AAA	100.00		AAA	100.00
AA	95.00		AA	95.00	AA	95.00		AA	95.00	AA	95.00		AA	95.00
A	90.00		A	90.00	A	90.00		A	90.00	A	90.00		A	90.00
B	85.00		B	85.00	B	85.00		B	85.00	B	85.00		B	85.00
COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL														
A - B														
AAA	100.00		AAA	100.00	AAA	100.00		AAA	100.00	AAA	100.00		AAA	100.00
AA	95.00		AA	95.00	AA	95.00		AA	95.00	AA	95.00		AA	95.00
A	90.00		A	90.00	A	90.00		A	90.00	A	90.00		A	90.00
B	85.00		B	85.00	B	85.00		B	85.00	B	85.00		B	85.00
WEALTH AND FOREIGN														
C - D														
C	80.00		C	80.00	C	80.00		C	80.00	C	80.00		C	80.00
D	75.00		D	75.00	D	75.00		D	75.00	D	75.00		D	75.00
E - F														
E	70.00		E	70.00	E	70.00		E	70.00	E	70.00		E	70.00
F	65.00		F	65.00	F	65.00		F	65.00	F	65.00		F	65.00
G - H														
G	60.00		G	60.00	G	60.00		G	60.00	G	60.00		G	60.00
H	55.00		H	55.00	H	55.00		H	55.00	H	55.00		H	55.00
I - J														
I	50.00		I	50.00	I	50.00		I	50.00	I	50.00		I	50.00
J	45.00		J	45.00	J	45.00		J	45.00	J	45.00		J	45.00
K - L														
K	40.00		K	40.00	K	40.00		K	40.00	K	40.00		K	40.00
L	35.00		L	35.00	L	35.00		L	35.00	L	35.00		L	35.00
M - N														
M	30.00		M	30.00	M	30.00		M	30.00	M	30.00		M	30.00
N	25.00		N	25.00	N	25.00		N	25.00	N	25.00		N	25.00
O - P														
O	20.00		O	20.00	O	20.00		O	20.00	O	20.00		O	20.00
P	15.00		P	15.00	P	15.00		P	15.00	P	15.00		P	15.00
Q - R														
Q	10.00		Q	10.00	Q	10.00		Q	10.00	Q	10.00		Q	10.00
R	5.00		R	5.00	R	5.00		R	5.00	R	5.00		R	5.00
S - T														
S	0.00		S	0.00	S	0.00		S	0.00	S	0.00		S	0.00
T	0.00		T	0.00	T	0.00		T	0.00	T	0.00		T	0.00
U - V														
U	0.00		U	0.00	U	0.00		U	0.00	U	0.00		U	0.00
V	0.00		V	0.00	V	0.00		V	0.00	V	0.00		V	0.00
W - X														
W	0.00		W	0.00	W	0.00		W	0.00	W	0.00		W	0.00
X	0.00		X	0.00	X	0.00		X	0.00	X	0.00		X	0.00
Y - Z														
Y	0.00		Y	0.00	Y	0.00		Y	0.00	Y	0.00		Y	0.00
Z	0.00		Z	0.00	Z	0.00		Z	0.00	Z	0.00		Z	0.00
AA - AB														
AA	0.00		AA	0.00	AA	0.00		AA	0.00	AA	0.00		AA	0.00
AB	0.00		AB	0.00	AB	0.00		AB	0.00	AB	0.00		AB	0.00
AC - AD														
AC	0.00		AC	0.00	AC	0.00		AC	0.00	AC	0.00		AC	0.00
AD	0.00		AD	0.00	AD	0.00		AD	0.00	AD	0.00		AD	0.00
AE - AF														
AE	0.00		AE	0.00	AE	0.00		AE	0.00	AE	0.00		AE	0.00
AF	0.00		AF	0.00	AF	0.00		AF	0.00	AF	0.00		AF	0.00
AG - AH														
AG	0.00		AG	0.00	AG	0.00		AG	0.00	AG	0.00		AG	0.00
AH	0.00		AH	0.00	AH	0.00		AH	0.00	AH	0.00		AH	0.00
AI - AJ														
AI	0.00		AI	0.00	AI	0.00		AI	0.00	AI	0.00		AI	0.00
AJ	0.00		AJ	0.00	AJ	0.00		AJ	0.00	AJ	0.00		AJ	0.00
AK - AL														
AK	0.00		AK	0.00	AK	0.00		AK	0.00	AK	0.00		AK	0.00
AL	0.00		AL	0.00	AL	0.00		AL	0.00	AL	0.00		AL	0.00
AM - AN														
AM	0.00		AM	0.00	AM	0.00		AM	0.00	AM	0.00		AM	0.00
AN	0.00		AN	0.00	AN	0.00		AN	0.00	AN	0.00		AN	0.00
AO - AP														
AO	0.00		AO	0.00	AO	0.00		AO	0.00	AO	0.00		AO	0.00
AP	0.00		AP	0.00	AP	0.00		AP	0.00	AP	0.00		AP	0.00
AQ - AR														
AQ	0.00		AQ	0.00	AQ	0.00		AQ	0.00	AQ	0.00		AQ	0.00
AR	0.00		AR	0.00	AR	0.00		AR	0.00	AR	0.00		AR	0.00
AS - AT														
AS	0.00		AS	0.00	AS	0.00		AS	0.00	AS	0.00		AS	0.00
AT	0.00		AT	0.00	AT	0.00		AT	0.00	AT	0.00		AT	0.00
AU - AV														
AU	0.00		AU	0.00	AU	0.00		AU	0.00	AU	0.00		AU	0.00
AV	0.00		AV	0.00	AV	0.00		AV	0.00	AV	0.00		AV	0.00
AW - AX														
AW	0.00		AW	0.00	AW	0.00		AW	0.00	AW	0.00		AW	0.00
AX	0.00		AX	0.00	AX	0.00		AX	0.00	AX	0.00		AX	0.00
AY - AZ														
AY	0.00		AY	0.00	AY	0.00		AY	0.00	AY	0.00		AY	0.00
AZ	0.00		AZ	0.00	AZ	0.00		AZ	0.00	AZ	0.00		AZ	0.00
BA - BB														
BA	0.00		BA	0.00	BA	0.00		BA	0.00	BA	0.00		BA	0.00
BB	0.00		BB	0.00	BB	0.00		BB	0.00	BB	0.00		BB	0.00
BC - BD														
BC	0.00		BC	0.00	BC	0.00		BC	0.00	BC	0.00		BC	0.00
BD	0.00		BD	0.00	BD	0.00		BD	0.00	BD	0.00		BD	0.00
BE - BF														
BE	0.00		BE	0.00	BE	0.00		BE	0.00	BE	0.00		BE	0.00
BF	0.00		BF	0.00	BF	0.00		BF	0.00	BF	0.00		BF	0.00
BG - BH														
BG	0.00		BG	0.00	BG	0.00		BG	0.00	BG	0.00		BG	0.00
BH	0.00		BH	0.00	BH	0.00		BH	0.00	BH	0.00		BH	0.00
BI - BJ														
BI	0.00		BI	0.00	BI	0.00		BI	0.00	BI	0.00		BI	0.00
BJ	0.00		BJ	0.00	BJ	0.00		BJ	0.00	BJ	0.00		BJ	0.00
BK - BL														
BK	0.00		BK	0.00	BK	0.00		BK	0.00	BK	0.00		BK	0.00
BL	0.00		BL	0.00	BL	0.00		BL	0.00	BL	0.00		BL	0.00
BM - BN														
BM	0.00		BM	0.00	BM	0.00		BM	0.00	BM	0.00		BM	0.00
BN	0.00		BN	0.00	BN	0.00		BN	0.00	BN	0.00		BN	0.00
BO - BP														
BO	0.00		BO	0.00	BO	0.00		BO	0.00	BO	0.00		BO	0.00
BP	0.00		BP	0.00	BP	0.00		BP	0.00	BP	0.00		BP	0.00
BQ - BR														
BQ	0.00		BQ	0.00	BQ	0.00		BQ	0.00	BQ	0.00		BQ	0.00
BR	0.00		BR	0.00	BR	0.00		BR	0.00	BR	0.00		BR	0.00
BS - BT														
BS	0.00		BS	0.00	BS	0.00		BS	0.00	BS	0.00		BS	0.00
BT	0.00		BT	0.00	BT	0.00		BT	0.00	BT	0.00		BT	0.00
BU - BV														
BU	0.00		BU	0.00	BU	0.00		BU	0.00	BU	0.00		BU	0.00
BV	0.00		BV	0.00	BV	0.00		BV	0.00	BV	0.00		BV	0.00
BW - BX														
BW	0.00		BW	0.00	BW	0.00		BW	0.00	BW	0.00		BW	0.00
BX	0.00		BX	0.00	BX	0.00		BX	0.00	BX	0.00		BX	0.00
BY - BZ														
BY	0.00		BY	0.00	BY	0.00		BY	0.00	BY	0.00		BY	0.00
BZ	0.00		BZ	0.00	BZ	0.00		BZ	0.00	BZ	0.00		BZ	0.00
CA - CB														
CA	0.00		CA	0.00	CA	0.00		CA	0.00	CA	0.00		CA	0.00
CB	0.00		CB	0.00	CB	0.00		CB	0.00	CB	0.00		CB	0.00
CC - CD														
CC	0.00		CC	0.00	CC	0.00		CC	0.00	CC	0.00		CC	0.00
CD	0.00		CD	0.00	CD	0.00		CD	0.00	CD	0.00		CD	0.00
CE - CF														
CE	0.00		CE	0.00	CE	0.00		CE	0.00	CE	0.00		CE	0.00
CF	0.00		CF	0.00	CF	0.00		CF	0.00	CF	0.00		CF	0.00
CG - CH														
CG	0.00		CG	0.00	CG	0.00		CG	0.00	CG	0.00		CG	0.00
CH	0.00		CH	0.00	CH	0.00		CH	0.00	CH	0.00		CH	0.00
CI - CJ														
CI	0.00		CI	0.00	CI	0.00		CI	0.00	CI	0.00		CI	0.00
CJ	0.00		CJ	0.00	CJ	0.00		CJ	0.00	CJ	0.00		CJ	0.00
CK - CL														
CK	0.00		CK	0.00	CK	0.00		CK	0.00	CK	0.00		CK	0.00
CL	0.00		CL	0.00	CL	0.00		CL	0.00	CL	0.00		CL	0.00
CM - CN														
CM	0.00		CM	0.00	CM	0.00		CM	0.00	CM	0.00		CM	0.00
CN	0.00		CN	0.00	CN	0.00		CN	0.00	CN	0.00		CN	0.00
CO - CP														
CO	0.00		CO	0.00	CO	0.00		CO	0.00	CO	0.00		CO	0.00
CP	0.00		CP	0.00	CP	0.00		CP	0.00	CP	0.00		CP	0.00
CQ - CR														
CQ	0.00		CQ	0.00	CQ	0.00		CQ	0.00	CQ	0.00		CQ	0.00
CR	0.00		CR	0.00	CR	0.00		CR	0.00	CR	0.00		CR	0.00
CS - CT														
CS	0.00		CS	0.00	CS	0.00		CS	0.00	CS	0.00		CS	0.00
CT	0.00		CT	0.00	CT	0.00		CT	0.00	CT	0.00		CT	0.00
CU - CV														
CU	0.00		CU	0.00	CU	0.00								























# Human Rights

a Special Report on their meaning and value, the bodies and conventions which uphold them, and the areas in which they are at risk

Illustrations by Joseph Wright



Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

## Declaration stronger than all the armies of Napoleon—or nonsense on stilts?

as Fawcett  
st, European  
sion of Human

sages have been  
on the value of hills  
s. Lord Aeron, sec-  
ation of the Rights  
(1789) was a piece  
stronger than all  
es of Napoleon, but  
called the "inalien-  
nd, imprescriptible  
er but in their dec-  
"nonsense on  
222 report of the  
Minorities Commis-  
Perhaps nearer the  
an either in saying  
sister in their dec-  
heider in or outside  
tion, was a first  
efence. In the Com-  
Canada, New  
Cyprus, India, Nige-  
Sierre Leone are  
e countries that  
ped bills of rights,  
the constitution or  
e principles of leg-  
ad government;  
prehensive Human  
il has recently been  
d in the Australian  
it  
Universal Declaration  
n Rights, adopted

by the United Nations Gen-  
eral Assembly in 1948 as "a  
common standard of achieve-  
ment for all peoples and all  
nations", and its first off-  
spring, the European Conven-  
tion on Human Rights, have  
in part been models for  
these domestic bills. of  
rights.  
The European Convention  
was drafted in the Council  
of Europe in 1949-50, with  
the active support from  
Chairman of Winston Churchill, David Maxwell Fyfe  
(later Lord Kilmarnock) and  
other parliamentarians, and  
came into force in 1953. A  
European Commission of  
Human Rights was set up,  
its members one from each  
convention country, acting  
in their individual capacity.  
Applications are brought  
to the commission by indi-  
viduals, groups of individ-  
uals, or non-governmental  
bodies, claiming to be vic-  
tims of breaches of the  
European Convention by one  
of the convention countries,  
if it has recognized this right  
of application. Austria, Bel-  
gium, Denmark, West Ger-  
many, Iceland, Ireland, Italy,  
Luxembourg, The Nether-  
lands, Norway, Sweden and

the United Kingdom have  
recognized the right, but  
Cyprus, France, Malta and  
Turkey have not yet done so.  
Legal aid, financed by the  
Council of Europe, is avail-  
able to applicants on the  
customary conditions. Any  
convention country may also  
refer to the commission  
alleged breaches of the  
European Convention in  
another convention country;  
for example, Norway,  
Sweden, Denmark and The  
Netherlands referred the sit-  
uation in Greece to the com-  
mission in September, 1967,  
and its report played a part  
in the removal of Greece  
from the Council of Europe;  
and Iceland has referred  
alleged breaches of the con-  
vention by the United King-  
dom in Internament and Inter-  
national relations in Northern  
Ireland.  
The task of the commis-  
sion is to investigate com-  
plaints and endeavour to  
bring about a settlement  
with the government con-  
cerned. If no settlement is  
reached, the commission  
makes a report of the facts  
to the Committee of Minis-  
ters, of the Council of  
Europe and gives its opinion

whether there has been any  
breach of the convention. At  
that stage, the case may be  
referred by the commission  
or by the government con-  
cerned to the European  
Court of Human Rights for a  
binding judicial decision;  
otherwise the Committee of  
Ministers must decide  
whether there has been a  
breach.  
The functions of the com-  
mission are essentially in-  
vestigative and persuasive.  
It is in no sense a  
court of law, though some of  
its members have had judi-  
cial experience in their  
countries, and it can rightly  
give no orders to govern-  
ments. But in the thousands  
of applications it has dealt  
with since its creation in  
1954 it has had an influence  
both in the protection of  
individuals, and on legisla-  
tion and administrative prac-  
tices, in convention coun-  
tries.  
Also in 1949 the United  
Nations began the task,  
which took 17 years to com-  
plete, of translating the  
"common standards of  
achievement" of the univer-  
sal declaration into enforce-  
able rights. Two covenants

were drafted on civil and  
political rights, and on eco-  
nomic, social and cultural  
rights, called respectively in  
United Nations shorthand,  
legal rights and programme  
rights.  
It was recognized from the  
beginning that the first of  
these groups, traditionally  
called civil liberties in  
Britain, may be directly en-  
forced through courts or par-  
liaments; while the second,  
such as the right to educa-  
tion, are essentially claims,  
and may thus only be met  
over time through dedicated  
social policy and persistent  
reform.  
It was seen that it was  
necessary to mark out pro-  
gramme rights even more  
than legal rights, not only  
because time and change  
were needed to secure them,  
but because without them  
legal rights may give little  
comfort: there was a time  
when a hungry man who  
stole a sheep got a fair trial  
but was still hanged.  
The United Nations covenants  
were adopted by the  
General Assembly by virtual  
unanimity but are not yet in  
force and, given the slow  
rate of ratification by coun-

tries, will not be for a long  
time to come. However, they  
are not only far wider and  
more articulated than the  
universal declaration, but, if  
a world view of human  
rights is possible, there are  
more representative of that  
view; for the universal dec-  
laration was adopted by 48  
United Nations members,  
of which there were only four  
from Africa and three from  
Asia, and eight members,  
including the Soviet Union  
and Saudi Arabia abstained.  
The covenants must then,  
even though not in force, be  
taken as having replaced the  
universal declaration as  
"common standards of  
achievement" of human  
rights.  
The UN Commission on  
Human Rights is primarily a  
promotional body, but it has  
undertaken some specific in-  
quiries, and its sub-commis-  
sion on prevention of dis-  
crimination and protection  
of minorities has been em-  
powered since 1970 to con-  
sider "all communications,  
including replies of govern-  
ments thereon, to reveal a con-  
sistent or consistent pat-  
tern of gross and reliably

attested violations of human  
rights and fundamental free-  
doms". This sub-commission  
has undertaken a number of  
investigations.  
The International Labour  
Organization, an older  
brother of the United  
Nations, has also sponsored  
since 1919 more than 130  
international conventions  
covering labour in industry,  
agriculture and shipping.  
Some of these conventions  
sanction collective bargain-  
ing rights, through the effective  
ILO reporting methods and  
the sanction of reprisals for  
unfair competition: for ex-  
ample, conventions on forced  
labour, the right to organize  
and collective bargaining, equal  
remuneration, minimum  
standards of social security,  
and discrimination in em-  
ployment and remuneration.  
Nationally, the ombuds-  
man system, as a check on  
maladministration in central  
and local government, is  
taking wider hold. Originat-  
ing in Scandinavia, there are  
now similar systems in a  
number of countries, but dif-  
fering in some ways such  
as the role of the ombudsman  
or commissioner (as the  
case may be) are linked to

parliament, or are limited in  
their tasks to central govern-  
ment, or can take the initia-  
tive in inquiring into malad-  
ministration.  
Examples are the Scandi-  
navian ombudsman, the  
Parliamentary Commission-  
ers in New Zealand, Brit-  
tain and Northern Ireland;  
the Médiateur in France;  
the tribunal in Tanzania;  
and the civil rights com-  
missioners in the 20 Inter-  
American Convention  
on Human Rights (1968),  
which would extend the  
right to life "in general, to  
the moment of conception";  
proposals that abortion be  
unrestricted, or that steri-  
lization be in certain cases  
compulsory, or that family  
growth be limited by puni-  
tive taxation, could be ir-  
reconcilable with these stated  
rights.  
The widening recognition  
of the need to regulate more  
closely in the common inter-  
ests of the use of land,  
water, and other natural re-  
sources, must raise sharp  
and continuing questions of  
property rights.  
Probably no right has tra-  
ditionally been taken more  
continued on page 11

## Minorities the most vulnerable and the most difficult to help

rd Longley  
s Affairs  
ndent

is more vulnerable  
than a minority  
majority, a group  
from the rest by dif-  
of race, religion,  
some other cultural  
fact. This was no doubt  
the set the treatment  
ties as the supreme  
y society's claim to  
civilized. This is also  
is no more argu-  
able, problem in  
the field of human  
minorities suffer  
all, and are hardest

for any state flagrantly in  
defiance of the convention.  
But the worst cases of the  
oppression of minorities are  
no longer in Europe.  
Each distinct minority has  
its own distinct problems, but  
it is wrong to think they have  
nothing in common. Not only  
are the mechanisms of oppres-  
sion universal—the denial of  
cultural identity in language  
or religion; the ruthless sup-  
pression of self-assertion;  
discrimination in jobs, hous-  
ing, education—but so, by  
and large, are the causes.  
Mr. Ben Whitaker, former  
Labour MP and now director  
of the Minority Rights Group  
in London, says: "Ethno-  
centricism, the belief in the  
extraordinary value of one's  
own group, coupled with a  
suspicion of anything dif-  
ferent, permeates homes,  
schools, books, and news-  
papers throughout the world."  
Prejudices, which are  
often used as pretexts for de-  
grading political, social, or  
economic opponents, pro-  
vide men with excuses to  
exploit other classes, races or  
women. Leaders use them as  
calculated weapons: the led-  
der of the need for security,  
shelter behind such blinkers

and thereby are diverted  
from focusing upon the real  
causes of the injustices they  
are suffering.  
"Minorities often reveal  
wider social problems. Much  
inter-ethnic conflict is due  
not to pluralism but to soci-  
ety's imbalance of power.  
Prejudice, which is also cap-  
able of being self-fulfilling,  
can be reinforced by competi-  
tion in jobs, sex or hous-  
ing; and less well-off people  
are obviously those who are  
most vulnerable to a threat  
to their basic existence."  
This is an important  
diagnosis, not least because  
it comes from the man who  
heads the organization in  
the world to have studied the  
question of minority rights  
globally. The MRG has 19  
different case histories to its  
credit, ranging from religious  
minorities in Russia to the  
"gypsies" of Europe, from the  
Nagas of India to the Mont-  
agnards of Vietnam.  
This is the rule of minority-  
as-scapegoat for social in-  
justice, minority-as-distra-  
ction from social injustice, the  
traditional lot of Jews in  
Europe and now blacks in  
contemporary Britain. It  
perhaps explains why the

worst persecution of minori-  
ties appears to happen in the  
most socially disturbed, least  
just, or poorest societies.  
If the relationship is in part  
causative and not accidental,  
as Whitaker's analysis would  
suggest, then the theory  
would be any genuine long-  
term improvement in the  
status of a minority in the  
general improvement in the  
level of justice and prosperity  
in society as a whole. It is  
something of a challenge to  
paternalistic liberalism,  
which traditionally concen-  
trates its efforts on alleviat-  
ing the day-to-day symptoms  
of discrimination and oppres-  
sion.  
An unjustly treated min-  
ority is itself a symptom of  
deep-seated ill-health in  
society, and any cure would  
have to be directed at society  
itself. In that sense Gandhi's  
dictum is a penetrating in-  
sight into the nature of in-  
justice rather than a gentle

statement of the almost  
obvious.  
If injustice to minority  
groups is usually to be found  
as a product of general in-  
justice, the minority is likely  
to suffer more than the gen-  
eral population from the  
manifestations of that in-  
justice.  
A regime that denies its  
majority its human rights is  
likely to be even more ruth-  
less in its dealings with its  
minorities. And these regimes  
are, of their nature, less  
susceptible to outside pres-  
sures; they are less likely to  
have any semblance of  
democracy, or a free press, or  
unfettered courts.  
Minorities also represent  
a special threat. Permanently  
reminded by discrimination  
of their separate identity,  
there is an ever present risk  
that they might begin to  
assert that identity.  
Republicanism in Northern  
Ireland, Black Power in the

United States, Basque  
nationalism, the Biafran re-  
bellion, the Kurdish revolt,  
and the militancy of the Jews  
of Russia all tell the same  
tale. No country that screws  
down the lid on a minority  
group can escape the conse-  
quences, and all too easily  
the situation can progress  
down a descending spiral of  
harsh legislation, persecu-  
tion, police brutality, and  
torture.  
The ultimate logic, as the  
world knows, leads to the gas  
chambers. There is no other  
final solution to any  
minority problem at that end  
of the scale: each step leads  
to the next. Only a deliberate  
change of direction towards  
a fair, free, and just society  
can even secure relief for  
oppressed minority groups.  
That, basically, is the prob-  
lem facing any organization  
which takes up the cause of  
a minority under pressure.  
The radical remedies re-

quired are quite outside its  
control. But some steps are  
possible as recent history  
has shown. It does appear  
that certain forms of private  
and public pressure from  
outside can check the  
descent of the spiral of re-  
pression, forcing states to  
greater toleration of min-  
ority self-expression than they  
might otherwise like, if left  
to their own devices.  
In the case of minority  
rights, outside organizations  
of this kind have a particular  
responsibility. Only a few of  
the world's major minority  
groups can look to the pro-  
tection of a neighbouring  
country, as the Roman Catho-  
lic religious and ethnic  
minority in Northern Ireland  
can look to the Republic, or  
as the Jews of Russia can look  
to Israel and to the Diaspora  
communities for help.  
Even societies marked by a  
high degree of political re-  
pression recognize that their  
standing in the world cannot  
be allowed to deteriorate too  
far. Public opinion outside  
their own frontiers is impor-  
tant to them, more important  
in some cases than opinion  
among their own citizens.  
This presents organizations

like MRG with one useful  
source of political leverage.  
For failing all else, recalci-  
trant governments can be  
brought to the bar of world  
opinion, and obliged to  
answer for their conduct.  
Is it sufficient to leave the  
defence of the world's most  
defenceless communities to  
one small privately finan-  
anced British organization?  
Although now becoming  
recognized throughout the  
world for its work in this  
field, that in itself represents  
a danger as well as a tribute.  
Humanitarian organizations  
can too readily assume that  
minority rights are being  
cared for by others, and need  
no additional effort.  
The International Com-  
mittee of the Red Cross,  
Amnesty International, the  
churches and other religious  
institutions, and those gov-  
ernments which conduct  
their international relations  
with an element of altruism,  
are no doubt happy to join  
in a chorus of condemnation  
once a situation of minority  
oppression is exposed, but  
who is to do the exposing?  
Almost by definition, there  
is no outside vested interest

that can benefit by such  
exposure in the majority of  
cases. There are neither  
votes nor profits to be made  
out of, say, the Montagnards,  
the Biharis, or Japan's  
Untouchables.  
A United Nations Com-  
missioner for Minorities,  
working along the lines of  
the United Nations Commis-  
sioner for Refugees, is  
urgently required to direct  
and focus world attention,  
backed by resources propor-  
tionate to the need—which  
MRG freely admits it does  
not possess.  
A United Nations Commis-  
sioner in this field would be  
a far more formidable ally for  
a minority to have. It would  
be much more difficult for  
any state to get away with a  
policy of reprisal if for all  
its faults—was watching and  
seen to be watching.  
If the United Nations is to  
betriend the friendless in this  
way, it will only be when the  
world community has reached  
a level of maturity advanced  
enough to put aside self-  
interest. There are few gov-  
ernments in the world with-  
out a minority skeleton some-  
where in the cupboard.

The twenty-fourth World Congress of the International Advertising Association open in Teheran on Thursday. Its theme is Communications in the Service of Human Rights. See page XI.





Article V  
No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

## Eight complaints—and signs of possible strength in fragile investigation procedure

by Niall MacDermot  
secretary-general,  
International Commission  
of Jurists

When the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations met early this year in New York it was called upon to consider for the first time under a new procedure a number of complaints of violations of human rights in eight widely differing countries. If the results were disappointing to many people, at least the new procedure was not strangled at birth as some had feared would happen.

The commission is composed of representatives of governments, and most governments, being afraid of exposure, were reluctant to develop an institution that might be used against them. Twenty years later, however, under the pressure of international opinion and with a changing political climate, a number of governments became so motivated

by other factors that they were ready to make some advances towards the international protection of human rights. This arose in particular in relation to colonialism and racial discrimination in southern Africa.

As a result of a decision by the Economic and Social Council in 1966, the Human Rights Commission in March, 1967, asked its sub-commission to prepare a report containing information "from all available sources" on violations of human rights and to bring to the attention of the commission "any situation which it had reason to believe revealed a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms".

A course of action was set in force which led to the adoption in 1970 by the council of an important resolution (No. 1503) establishing a detailed procedure for the investigation of complaints

similar to that recommended by the sub-commission in 1967.

For many years the Secretary General has received between 20,000 and 30,000 complaints a year of violations of human rights in all parts of the world. Many are repetitive and often in vague and general terms. Many others, however, are specific and merit inquiry. Under the new procedure admissible communications may originate from individuals or groups who are victims of violations, from persons having direct knowledge of violations, or from non-governmental organizations acting in good faith and not politically motivated and having direct and reliable knowledge of such violations.

The new procedure calls for examination of these complaints in three stages. First, the United Nations secretariat refers the "communications", as complaints are euphemistically termed,

to a working party of the sub-commission. This meets for 10 days to consider them and refers those which "appear to reveal a consistent pattern of gross and reliably attested violations" to the sub-commission. This in turn considers them for about two days, and then decides which to pass on to the Human Rights Commission.

In the first year of the new procedure the sub-commission decided not to refer to the commission any of the three cases (Greece, Iran and Portugal) sent to it by the working party. Instead it sent them back to the working party to consider them further in the light of replies from governments. In this way a year was lost.

In the second year the working party referred eight cases to the sub-commission (Brazil, Guyana, Indonesia, Iran, Burundi, Tanzania, Portugal and the United Kingdom). A judicious

balance was maintained, two countries being selected from four of the five blocks into which the nations are unofficially grouped within the United Nations, the Soviet block alone escaping scrutiny.

The third stage was reached for the first time this year. The Human Rights Commission, after examining the situations referred to it, is asked to determine "whether it requires a thorough study by the commission and a report and recommendations thereon to the Economic and Social Council" or "whether it may be a subject of an investigation by an ad hoc committee to be appointed by the commission, which shall be undertaken only with the express consent of the state concerned and shall be conducted in constant cooperation with that state and under conditions determined by agreement with it".

The distinction between a "thorough study" and an "investigation" is not very

clear, save that an investigation, depending as it does on the cooperation of the government concerned, is less likely to occur, but if it does, will presumably have the advantage of including evidence from both sides.

It is important to realize that this procedure is in essence a political and not a judicial one. It is more a matter of political prudence than of an inquiry on the national plane by a parliamentary committee than to a decision by a court of justice. To be realistic, it will be difficult to obtain even the degree of impartiality sometimes found in parliamentary committees.

This does not mean that the procedure is valueless. It is a way of bringing pressure on governments to mend their ways with respect to human rights. Also, the very existence of the procedure shows that "consistent patterns of gross violations of human rights" are not, in the words of article 2(7) of the charter, "matters which are essentially within the domestic

jurisdiction of any state" and, therefore, excluded from United Nations intervention.

Of the eight cases referred this year to the Human Rights Commission it is believed that the complaints against Brazil referred to the torture and ill-treatment of prisoners; those against Guyana to racial discrimination, particularly in employment in the public service; against Indonesia to the prolonged detention without trial and ill-treatment of tens of thousands of political suspects; against Iran to the torture of political prisoners by the secret police; against Burundi to the tribal massacres of the Hutus by the ruling Tutsi minority; against Tanzania to the forced marriages of girls of Persian descent in Zanzibar; against Portugal to the ill-treatment of prisoners both in Portugal itself and in the overseas territories; and against the United Kingdom to the preventive detention and alleged

ill-treatment of suspects in Northern Ireland.

It is understood that there was little discussion in the commission of the merits of these complaints. Attention focused on the procedure to be adopted in handling them. Most of not all of the Soviet bloc, who have been hostile to the new procedure from the beginning, sought to have all these complaints referred back to the sub-commission, which would effectively have killed it.

The majority eventually decided to set up a working party of the commission itself, to meet in a year's time to consider the complaints again in the light of any further replies from governments and any other relevant information available, and to report back to the commission. This decision illustrates the extreme sensitivity of the commission in dealing with complaints against governments in cases other than those which are repeatedly

raised by members of the commission.

Governments have opportunity to reply to communications at the working party of the commission, and against subsequent stages. Governments yet another to reply to complaints which at least two were considered by the sub-commission two years ago, and which would be the essence of an already well-known case.

None the less, many with long experience struggle for more a procedure within the Nations felt satisfied the progress made. The advantage of the 1503 procedure is the only precedent in the application of individual victims of interested non-governmental organizations of human rights is a tender plant, which is carefully nurtured.

In the West, human rights are normally regarded as a political and cultural concept—in contrast to the Third World, where they are seen chiefly as questions of economics. Below, Maurice Cranston and Ian Brownlie discuss these differences in interpretation

## Efforts to enforce the western tradition

"Human rights" is a fairly new name for what were once called "the rights of man". Mrs Roosevelt encouraged the United Nations to speak of human rights when she found that the rights of man were not understood in some parts of the world to include the rights of woman.

In the seventeenth century John Locke, the philosopher, and others, spoke of "natural rights", because the rights in question were derived from "natural law", or the universal principles of justice, rather than from the imperatives of positive law. This law distinction is, of course, the crucial one. A right can be one of two things: an entitlement a person has, because the authority and force of positive law decrees and upholds it; or a right may be something a person ought to have, because of a morally compelling claim to it.

Affirmations of human rights are characteristically affirmations of rights in the second sense: and there is a very ancient western tradition of belief both in the reality of natural law—a law higher than the laws of princes—and of the universal rights which this law confers on all rational, sentient beings.

Greeks, Stoics, Romans, medieval Christians and

modern rationalists have sustained much the same concept of basic moral rights which every human being possesses simply by virtue of being human. They are not the kind of rights that are right to trial by jury and a particular society. They are not rights that are earned. They are universal, and they are inherited, so to speak, with humanity itself. Their very generality, however, makes it hard to discern these rights clearly.

Hence, various attempts have been made to set down lists of human rights. John Locke, most often quoted as an authority on the subject, wrote of the rights to life, liberty and property.

The Bill of Rights enacted by the English Parliament after the "Glorious Revolution" in 1689 named also the rights of the subject, and prescribed that there should be neither excessive bail nor excessive fines, and outlawed cruel and unusual punishments. Locke's reasoning and the Bill of Rights had a great influence throughout the world. When the American states gained their independence, several issued declarations of rights adding to those that the English had named, the right to happiness, or, in more cautiously worded documents, the right to the pursuit of happiness.

The United States Constitution of 1789, with concurrent amendments, defined these rights in somewhat greater detail, and understandably so since the purpose was to translate moral rights into positive rights, by making them enforceable in American positive law.

### Stirring but abstract document

The famous French *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen*, which came out at much the same moment in history, named more or less the same civil and political rights, in language inspired more by English and American theory than by anything that belonged to French experience. It was a stirring document. But it had one great defect. It was abstract and idealistic, and had no force in positive law, as had both the English Bill of Rights and the American Constitution. It was no more than a declaration.

In 1948 there appeared another declaration on the same lines, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, passed and proclaimed by the United Nations. This was both less

and more than had been promised when the United Nations was founded during the Second World War, and charged with what Churchill called the mission of enthroning human rights. The United Nations declaration fell short of that objective because it provided no machinery for passing from the abstract exercise of naming human rights to the concrete exercise of upholding them.

At the same time it went beyond the original purpose by naming besides the traditional natural rights to life, liberty, fair treatment and so forth, various other more idealistic rights such as the right to a decent standard of living, medicine and holidays with pay.

This introduction of "economic" rights was partly in response to the presence of the communist powers in the United Nations. The civil and political rights of the great western tradition hold an equivocal place in Marxist philosophy, while the material and economic needs of men are better understood.

The Council of Europe has achieved more. The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights, drawn up in Rome in 1950, was followed by the institution at Strasbourg of a Commission and a Court of Human Rights, bodies to which the individual has access as a petitioner if he believes that his rights as set out in the European Convention have been violated.

### Universal, not just European

It is perhaps ironic that access to the Strasbourg institutions is limited to the inhabitants of countries where political and civil human rights, that is, human rights as they have been understood in the western tradition, are already generally well respected by the governments concerned.

But if the western understanding of human rights is to some extent culture-bound, the rights set forth in the European Convention are not intended to be the rights of Europeans only, but to be the rights of all men. The European Convention is just as much a universal document, in this sense, as the Universal Declaration and the Covenants of the United Nations. The European Convention confers some positive rights on inhabitants of

member states, but it claims moral rights for everyone; and indeed it would make no sense as a statement of human rights if it did not do so.

It is tempting to agree with Bentham's contention that no assertion of right makes sense unless it is an assertion of positive right, rights actually enjoyed. But we should not agree with him too hastily. The word "right" does have two meanings, both equally legitimate. Speaking of a moral right is just as sensible as talking of a positive right. Indeed, a large part of the justification of a claim to a positive right must be that it is a morally compelling claim.

### Way to persuade people

To establish that a thing ought to be is the way to persuade people that it shall be. To say, for example, that all men have a right to freedom of movement is to dispute the justice of those governments which refuse to allow people to move freely. And this is not to make anything so vague and utopian as a statement of aspiration or ideal; it is to point to the positive right of justice and morality, governments which restrain men's freedom, dignity and so forth. It is inevitable that the rights of one individual collide from time to time with those of another. Also, there may occasionally be a conflict between the rights of the individual and the security of the nation. But security in general is not something which is at odds with human rights, because it is itself a human right; it is the right of the individual to the security of the community: the private enjoyment of the right depends on the common enjoyment of the right. The demand for liberty and security is not a demand for two things that can only with difficulty be balanced or reconciled; it is a demand for two things that naturally belong together.

Part of the western understanding of human rights is the belief that a free country is safer than an unfree country. History gives us good grounds for continuing to think this is true.

M.C.

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## Variety of attitudes in Third World

The origins of thinking on "human rights" in the so-called Third World of Asia, Africa and Latin America, are to be found in two propositions. First, many individual politicians and intellectuals, revolutionary and gradualists alike, learnt the political morality of the West, often in highly idealized form, either in the various metropolitan centres of colonial empires or in local institutions permeated by European political thought.

Secondly, these same individuals not unreasonably started to make claims for orthodox values, that the principles so strongly professed by Europeans should be applied to non-Europeans—in other words, their political and economic measures should give full scope and credit to their own concepts.

The political and moral foundations of many well-known figures in Africa and Asia are by no means radical. Christianity, Hinduism or Buddhism. Dr Kaunda espouses humanism. Mr Nyerere's socialism is akin to Tom Paine's Rights of Man and not to revolutionary socialism.

Even when such figures resort to planning and control of various kinds, the approach has tended to be that of Lloyd George's war cabinet—that major problems (poverty, malnutrition and the like) call for special measures as a matter of expediency rather than doctrine.

A constant in the history is the Afro-Asian appealing to the European's moral pretensions on the simple principle of consistency. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 the Japanese delegation (qualified members of the "heavy squad" since victory in the Russo-Japanese war) had the temerity to ask that the League of Nations Covenant should include guarantees of racial and religious equality. This met with a refusal from other delegations: and thus it was that (apart from mandates) 1919-20 human rights standards were insisted upon only in minorities treaties affecting defeated states and states such as Poland which were "probationers" and products of the work of the Allied Supreme Council.

It is typical that when the French turned their forces on Ho Chi Minh's infant republic in 1945 he defended his policy of setting up a provisional government by saying: "Not only is our act in line with the Atlantic and San Francisco charters, solemnly proclaimed by the allies, but it entirely conforms with the glorious principles upheld by

the French people, viz liberty, equality and fraternity."

Since about 1965 a large number of Afro-Asian states, including the new China, have been active in international life, and it is now possible to give a reasonably clear picture of the special elements in the attitude of developing "states" towards human rights. This picture of "special elements" involves a risk of creating distortions. First, the background of ideas is fairly orthodox and well established already.

Secondly, the developing states exhibit considerable variety of theory and practice. Nevertheless, certain themes have emerged with clarity and persistence. In the first place, the developing states wish to give emphasis to economic and social rights as necessary companions to the classical civil and political rights.

When the human rights covenants were put in final form in 1966 by the United Nations Organisation there were two instruments, an international covenant on civil and political rights and an international covenant on economic, social and cultural rights.

The importance attached to the latter by the developing countries is well attested, in principle if not always in practice. Economic, social and cultural rights are exemplified by the right to work, the right to social security and the right to education.

Such rights complement civil and political rights: thus, for example, the poor man has little chance of reasonable access to modern and urban justice in the higher courts in the absence of legal aid. The strategy of looking at the economic foundations, and at the insufficiency of formal equality involves insisting on positive state provision.

used to excuse the more or less autonomous deficiencies of Third World governments. It is generally in inverse proportion to the contribution they make to social and economic progress.

The sources of Third World scepticism are familiar. First, resentment at past degradation and exploitation. The practices of western civilization in China, the Belgian Congo, French Equatorial Africa and other areas, are well described by professional historians. It is perhaps time that the West owned some of its bad practices, much in the same way as it calls for the Soviet authorities to disown Stalinist practices.

### Corrosive impression of hypocrisy

Secondly, and connected with the first, is the corrosive impression of hypocrisy resulting from an unspoken concern for the rule of law after an independence, contrasted with forced labour, racialism and settler-exploitation of the best land in some colonies, before independence.

Thirdly, there is the feeling that western states readily resort to emergency powers and national government in contexts described by them as justifying crisis measures, but fail to accept under development, poverty-time situations and actual famine as crises ranking with those normally created only by war in affluent states.

Fourthly, there is a realisation that western official opinion tends to become sensitive to human rights only when a regime is unsound politically and in relation to protection of foreign investment. Sukarno's Indonesia was the object of much criticism; but although no more attached to the rule of law than the previous régime, it has been free of adverse comment. Indeed, while *The Times* was reporting mass sacres of not fewer than 300,000 in 1965-66, a glowing credit was extended by the Labour Government.

The sources of tension itemized so far are important in their effects but they are superficial; the problems of substance will remain even if the Third World chooses to ignore the past; and the hypocrisy of some of its practices. The paradigms and more serious sources of difficulty are what may be called structural problems.

ing economic development, a major objective in fact with the idea that conditions of work conform to standards of ILO conventions.

There is "the three equal relations" of foundations" problem, is, if a group of alien religious, racial or ethnic citizens have economic or actual monopoly over "discretionary action may sometimes be necessary to distribute justice."

There are dominant minorities as well as minorities. To apply human rights more society built on a minority may result perpetuation of a hierarchy in which religious, racial or ethnic divisions with money.

For economically groups, such as Indians and "benevolent discrimination" of federal funding and the like. "Level operations" such quotas to increase universities, may be called for to group position is threatened.

The more sophisticated models now present various modern corollaries to the development of an acute problem. Standards be set before enforcement, and the star on the ground—of regulation would say.

In human rights standards have far too far ahead of and political fact societies. Internal standards are mostly national systems of ment. The developing countries are in a position to develop the principles as their statement. Nations bodies and social structures concerned.

National progress brought into a bet with international standards. The developing countries find it necessary to national government consistency between practice and their as in the past: to make overloads apply principles. It is context.

## Declaration stronger than armies

continued from page 1

for granted, or more vigorously defended, as a basic right than that of property. But the declaration of principles by the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment (1972) calls for a number of points for planning, management and control of resources, which must reduce or restrict established property rights.

Further, while the universal declaration said that "everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property", we search the pages of the United Nations covenants in vain for such a principle: in fact, with the assent of more than 100 countries they do not mention a right of property at all. *Verbum sapienti.*

But demands for economic self-determination and security have been intensified in face of the multinational corporations and the presence of many foreign work-

ers or traders. So the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Covenant states that "developing countries, with due regard to human rights and their national economy, may determine to what extent they would guarantee the economic rights recognized in the present covenant to non-nationals".

The multinational corporations are skilled at presenting a face of innocence and political helplessness, but there is no doubt that their economic power or influence, whether abused or not, is greater than that of many governments. Against them the clause in the covenant may be justified; but as it is also to be read as a means of erosion of the long-accepted minimum standard of treatment of foreign workers or traders, it can only be of comfort to General Amin.

Liberal democracy—sees human rights largely in terms of the protection of the individual against the state, but in the industrialized countries at least the state is in decline in face of the technologies of commu-

nications, resource management and industrial organization; its institutions, whether liberal or dirigiste, are, to borrow Walter Bagehot's distinction, becoming increasingly theatrical rather than efficient.

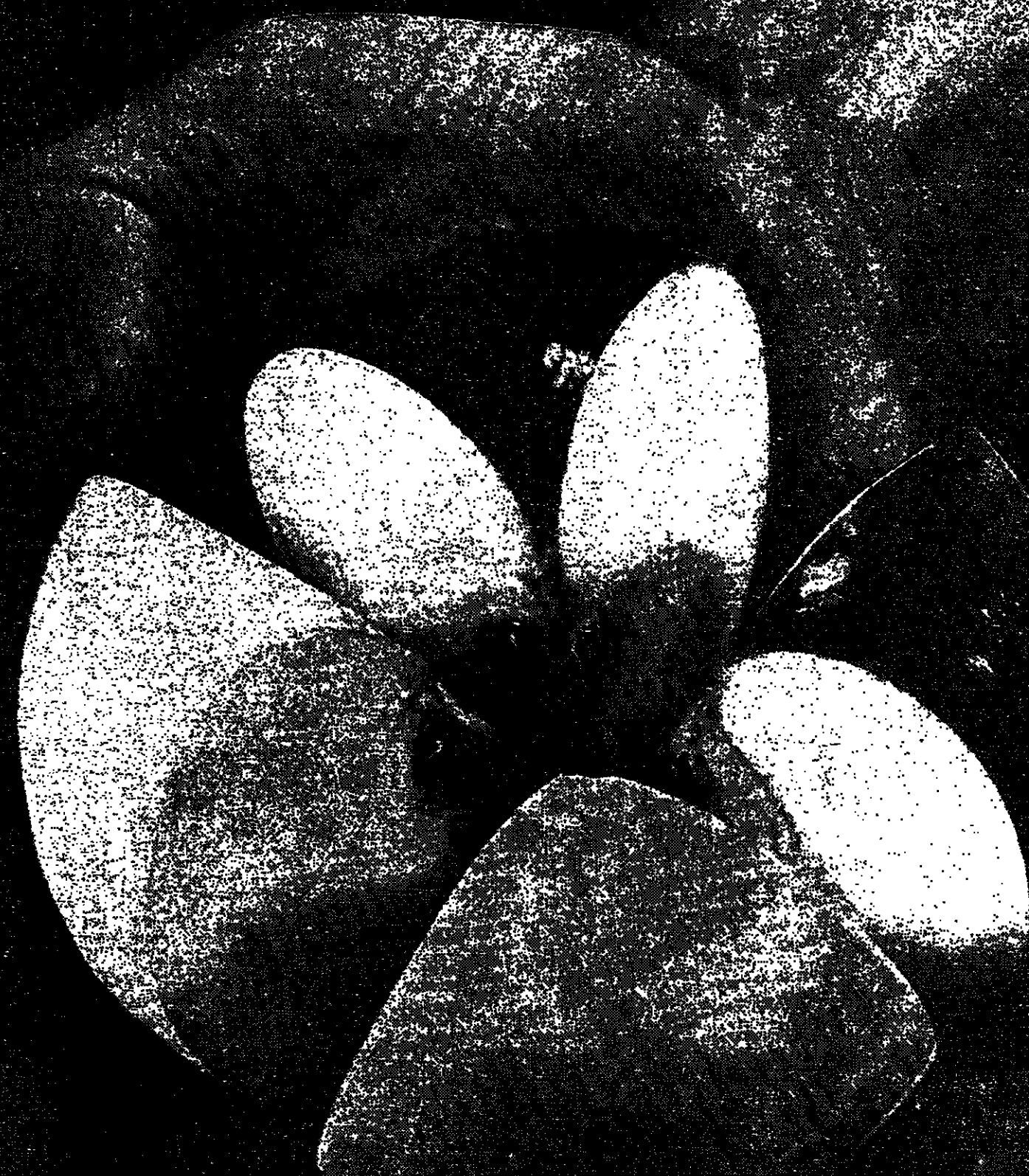
Hence simple enunciations of the freedom to receive and impart information, and of respect for private life, and of the limited public restrictions permitted on them, lose most of their traditional force in such contexts as subliminal advertising, direct satellite broadcasting, secrecy on sources of environmental pollution, personal data compilation and retrieval, and industrial espionage.

Some of these forces are virtually beyond public restriction or control, as the Soviet Union is acutely aware in the case of direct satellite broadcasting; and it is in any case meaningless to claim either the power to restrict this freedom, in such areas without a clearer view of common interests than have begun to form.



**ALL ADAM'S SONS  
ARE LIMBS OF ONE ANOTHER,  
EACH OF THE SELFSAME  
SUBSTANCE AS HIS BROTHER**

SA'ADI, A PERSIAN POET



**ADVERTISING  
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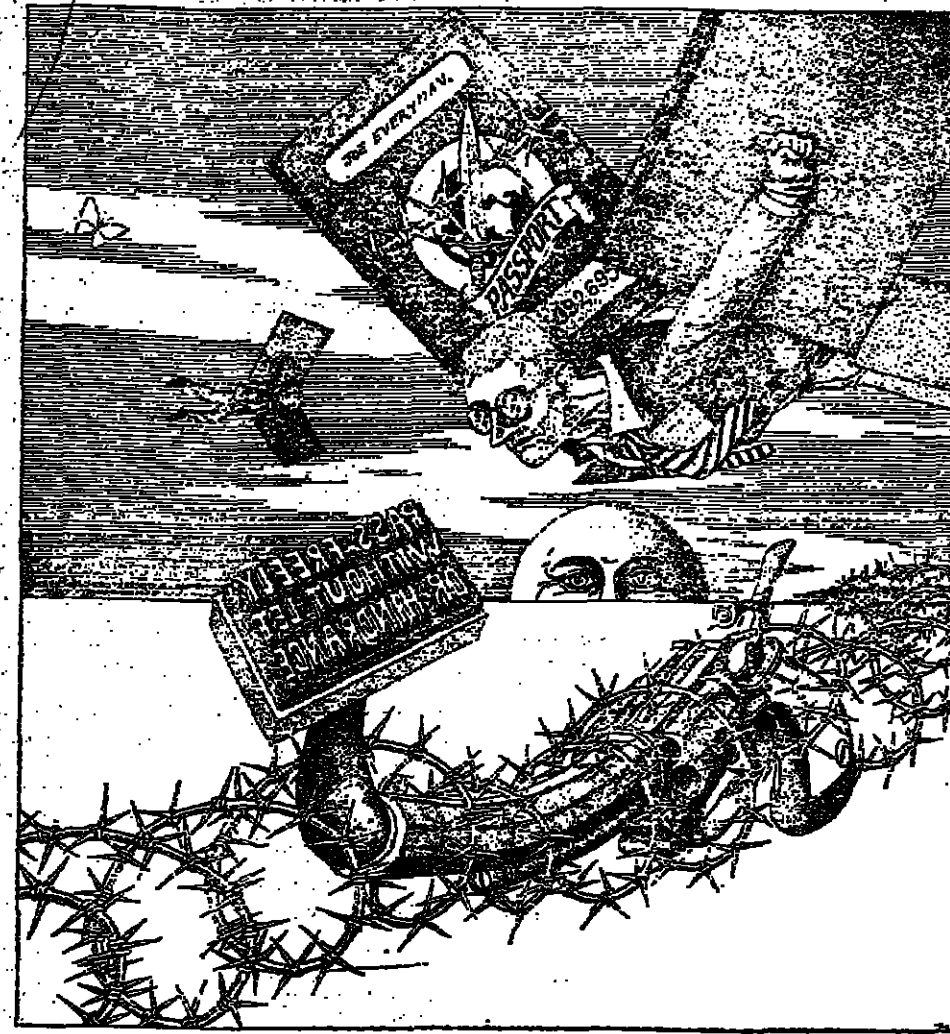
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Article XIII  
(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.  
(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

# Brazil: primary education handicaps literacy movement

By Bradford

so many other things in the seriousness of the problem depends on point of view. Looked at one angle, great progress has been made: 11 million have dropped from 12 years old in 1960 to 33 per cent in 1970, and 21 per cent in 1973. In numbers, however, everything changes. 10,000 illiterates in 1960, 17,900,000 in 1970, 21 million in 1973. The teachers are run hard, but the masses of illiterates keep overgrowing.

In the military coup in 1964, the Movement for Basic Education (MEB), a literacy movement organized by the Roman Catholic Church with financial support from the Federal Government, suffered an extremely severe blow. Being a July 1964 initiative, educational system developed by Paulo Freire, MEB had fought both to encourage the participation of the population in the change and to increase the social awareness of the newly literate by teaching the reading and writing with an increased understanding of the social situation in which students lived.

MEB was also criticized as subversive by military leaders—perhaps rightly so, from their viewpoint—MEB lost its government funds and to a virtual standstill. Years later, after the end of protracted studies negotiations, the Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetização (Mebra) finally got way. It operates contracts drawn up by the local municipal authorities. Although it uses of Paulo Freire's teaching, this new movement (as its name suggests) is organized in relation to the specific problem of literacy. Reading and writing are seen simply as technical skills that are an essential precondition of modern, industrialized society.

Assessed on these criteria, Mebra has had considerable success: approximately six million people, scattered all over Brazil's 2,933 municipalities, had been awarded diplomas by the end of 1973, after attending Mebra's basic five-month literacy course. For Mebra to have reached so many people in just over two years is a considerable achievement, possibly justifying both the considerable international interest that has been shown in the movement and the claim frequently repeated by Senator Márcio Henrique Simões (formerly director of Mebra and now Minister of Finance) that Mebra is "the world's largest literacy movement".

One of the more unusual aspects of Mebra is the way it is financed—the funds come from a football lottery and from a 1 per cent income tax made voluntarily by about 70,000 companies. Although Mebra absorbs only 7 per cent of the revenue from the lottery (and 46 per cent goes to support the capital market through the federal savings bank), it is to some extent an answer to the people who strongly criticized the Government for establishing the lottery in 1970. These critics claimed that, besides providing poorly paid workers with yet another way of wasting money desperately needed by their families, the lottery was also an indirect way of making the poor finance an even larger share of the costs of Brazilian development.

Mebra has proved to be resourceful and ingenious in its response to immediate, practical problems. The organizers, with considerable

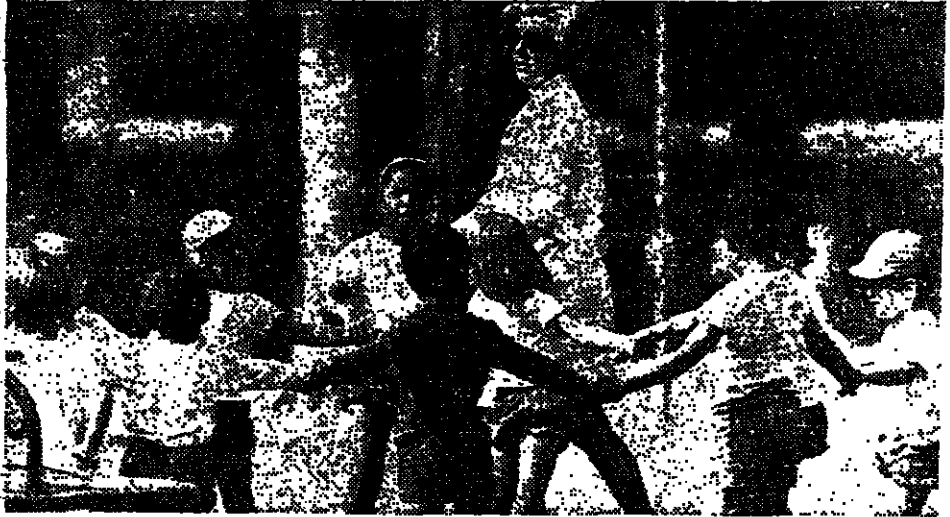
justification, refuse to allocate a large proportion of their budget (163.3m cruzeiros, about £10m, in 1972) for the building of classrooms. They prefer to make use of available rooms, even if these are dilapidated.

In some of the poorer regions this policy has caused problems. At the end of last year, the Recife branch needed 600 classrooms but could find only 375. It was estimated that Mebra was turning away 5,000 new pupils daily because of the shortage. The problem was partly solved by using 60 old buses, given to Mebra by the municipal bus company.

Mebra has also been outward looking in its willingness to work with other organizations. In August, 1973, it signed an agreement with the Rondon Project, a rapidly developing voluntary movement which has development centres, run by university students, in many backward regions all over Brazil. Now Mebra will be collaborating on a permanent basis with these centres, organizing special projects and carrying out surveys into literacy levels.

In April the new director, Senator Arlindo Lopes Pereira, said Mebra was also planning to carry out a programme of preventive medicine to improve the health of those attending the courses. Special attention is to be given to ophthalmic treatment, as it is estimated that half the students are suffering from untreated eye weaknesses or eye diseases that are seriously impairing their capacity to take full advantage of the courses.

Despite its considerable achievements, Mebra has also had its critics. First, many people have argued that Mebra does not really provide its students with a sufficient basic education, as it is too concerned with re-



Playtime in São Paulo. Despite a fall in illiteracy rates, teachers have a fight on their hands to stop a decline caused by population pressures.

# South Africa: pressure groups condemned as subversive

By Shaw

which it did in the 1950s after a prolonged constitutional crisis. Since then the Civil Rights League has acted as a pressure group, seeking to influence public opinion through letters to journals, public meetings and press comments. It also makes direct representations to ministers and to government departments in particular cases, such as the death in detention of the Cape Muslim leader, the Imam Haron, a few years ago.

The league has had little success in arresting the legislative trend against individual liberties in South Africa, which has intensified since the disturbances of the early 1960s, with legislation providing for detention without trial becoming part of the ordinary law of the land.

The league has, however, kept alive a tradition of vigorous protest against infringements of civil rights, notably the Government's use of its banning powers, which has used to silence anti-apartheid activists, prohibiting them from attending public gatherings and barring newspapers from publishing their utterances.

With its members mainly engaged in academic or professional life, the league strives to maintain public awareness of the value of freedom of expression and assembly and the right to trial in open court. It cannot claim spectacular success.

The Black Sash organization maintains advice offices to assist those caught in the tangle of pass laws which restricts the movements of Africans in South Africa. It also provides funds for the legal defence of pass offenders in the courts.

For the rest, bodies such as the South African Institute of Race Relations, the National Union of South African Students and the Christian Institute concern themselves with human rights. These three organizations are at present under investigation by the Schabas Commission, a parliamentary body, whose critics liken its functions to the McCarthyism of the United States in the 1950s.

As an indication of the general climate in which such organizations are operating, remarks made in 1972 by Mr P. W. Botha, the Minister of Defence, are instructive. After a symposium on con-

scientious objection organized by the Civil Rights League in Cape Town, Mr Botha said in a parliamentary speech that there was a deliberate attempt by leftist and communist organizations to destroy national service systems. Measures would have to be taken to prevent such people from destroying the stability of the country.

Mr Botha rejected Opposition suggestions that conscription should be allowed to work in hospitals, on fire stations or as ambulance men for double the national service period rather than go to jail.

# Black Africa: wide gap between theory and practice

by Patrick Gilkes

Black Africa has tended to see the problems of human rights in terms of the white regimes of the southern part of the continent. This emphasis has inhibited discussion on human rights in the rest of Africa, and it has reinforced a scale of priorities in which such rights have been widely and frequently subordinated to political and economic factors.

There are valid historical reasons for this state of affairs. The legacy left by the colonial powers, and the neo-colonialist problems that followed, have enforced a concentration on the right to development and on the need for national unity and identity. In many cases this is still found to be an overriding necessity.

The main problems in Africa are not connected with the legal recognition of human rights. All states have constitutions and codes that guarantee the basic rights. Nor all of these can be made effective, however, even when the will to do so is there. Economic factors make it impossible for most states to accept fully such rights as the free choice of jobs, the right to work, to education, to health and to a standard of living.

Although most states have recognized their validity, there are still all too many exceptions—particularly where minorities are concerned, and where tribal factors have affected the arguments.

A much wider gap between theory and practice comes with the consideration of political and civil rights—including the right to take part in government, to life, to quiet and to freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment. While all these are protected legally, in practice they are denied in varying degrees in nearly all African states. In particular, the use of arbitrary arrest and detention without trial is on the increase.

It is significant that at a seminar held last year in Dar es Salaam on the problems and needs of human rights in Africa, many participants felt that the discussion of such points fell within the domestic purview of the states concerned and should therefore be avoided.

A widely-shared opinion quoted in the seminar report was that "the exigencies of economic growth may at times justify the temporary subordination of the interests and rights of the individual to those of the state". Few states will admit that political or economic necessity leads to anything but the temporary suppression of human rights—but nearly all African states have detention laws and emergency regulations to supplement the usually considerable safeguards of ordinary legislation.

Even where the legislative devices exist for individual protection, these are often no more than a dead letter. Examples are not hard to find. Malawi is detaining more than 1,000 people without trial. Chad, Ethiopia, Guinea, Morocco, and above all Uganda are particular offenders at the moment.

Amnesty International's report on torture last year indicates that in these circumstances the use of torture is becoming much more common. It produces evidence from 11 African countries: Burundi, Cameroun, Ethiopia, Ghana, Malawi, Morocco, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia and Zanzibar.

These activities are always covered by the umbrella of national security and unity. In fairly modern states, and those that have inherited tribal situations, this is not surprising. Opposition has become equated with disloyalty. The aftermath of the colonial situation left political situations that were often virtually unworkable, as well as a pattern of repressive legislation to be copied.

Reactions of this type have a habit of becoming semi-permanent, and a tendency to spread beyond the purely political into such areas as religion. The treatment of Jehovah's Witnesses in Malawi is a case in point.

The two areas where most has been done are in self-determination and refugees. In the first case, the emphasis has been chiefly on attempts to liberate the majorities in Southern Africa. The Organization for African Unity has played some part, as have individual countries, in helping the liberation movements to keep up the pressure on these areas.

There are also a number of liberation movements that operate within independent African countries. The attitude to such movements makes it clear that the right of self-determination is not considered to operate for the minorities within such states.

In the case of refugees there is a great deal to be done, and some of it at least, particularly again in regard to refugees from colonial and racial domination in the south. Nevertheless, many African countries have not yet ratified either the United Nations Convention of 1967, or the Organization of African Unity Convention on Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa of 1969.

One inhibiting factor has undoubtedly been the economic difficulties. The millions of refugees forced out of their homes by the disaster of the Sahelian drought constitute a problem that is just too big. Another factor has been the political uses to which refugees can sometimes be put.

In the 1960s the Eritrean refugees in Sudan, and the southern Sudanese in Ethiopia, were used as bargaining counters in border and political discussions between the two countries.

The approach to the refugee problem does, however, point the way for other areas of human rights. It has been the subject of an OAU convention. There is scope for other conventions or commissions to deal with other rights in the African context.

One argument frequently put forward is that the whole concept of human rights is a European, or a white, interest. Many of the organizations concerned—such as Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, the Red Cross and the various Church and Labour groups—tend to be founded and largely based in Europe and North America.

While they may have regional offices and groups in Africa, there is certainly room for much more African participation in their efforts, as well as an African approach to such matters as bride prices.

There is certainly a case to be made out for an African equivalent of the European Commission on Human Rights. This, like the idea for an African convention on human rights, has been suggested to the OAU but has not yet been taken up. Both need to be considered as urgent priorities, and could play a useful part in advancing the cause of Pan-Africanism.

The record of human rights movements in Black Africa is not impressive, except with relation to the white regimes in the south. There is a great deal to be done, and some of it at least, particularly again in regard to refugees from colonial and racial domination in the south.

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# Australia: good intentions have gone astray

by Herbert Michael

The most serious protagonists of human rights in Australia are the various civil liberties organizations, which usually confine themselves to specific injustices within their state boundaries and are generally concerned with individual cases, and the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations Association of Australia.

The most active branch of this organization is in Victoria. The chairman of the committee is Mr Stanley W. Johnston, chairman of the Criminology Department at the University of Melbourne. Its latest concern has been a Bill of Rights introduced in the national Parliament at Canberra. This Bill aroused opposition from some of the churches, notably the Roman Catholic, and from the opposition Liberal and Country parties as an interference with the rights of the individual and a threat to family life. Mr Gough Whitlam, the Prime Minister, took note of these objections and promised that an effort would be made to meet them.

When he delivered an address at the Australian National University in Canberra, on the occasion of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Mr Whitlam praised the United Nations human rights movements. This was the first time that an Australian Prime Minister had attended a function arranged by the United Nations Association of Australia.

Mr Whitlam told the gathering: "It is the intention of my Government to proceed with ratification of the covenants on civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights as enabling legislation has been passed by Parliament."

However, despite the fact that this enabling legislation was amended to meet the objections of the churches and others, the sudden disavowal of the double disavowal of Parliament prevented the legislation being proceeded with. The Senate, where the opposition had a majority, would not have passed it in any case. Mr Johnston has pointed out that although the Government had signed covenants it had ignored the protocol to the covenants on civil and political rights.

At a recent conference in Canberra various representatives of the human rights movement met government representatives and discussed the situation. Despite the fears expressed from time to time that the human rights movement might have its freedom of operation curtailed and its success impeded because the conference was funded by the Australian Government, the spokesmen of the movement were quite free and frank in their expressions of opinion.

They made specific proposals to the Government on how to give effect to the United Nations covenants. They told the conference that they thought Mr Whitlam had been misled by Conservative advisers into believing parliamentary legislation was required for ratification of the covenants, and they emphasized that such legislation was definitely not required. Only by government ratification of the protocol could the human rights of the Australian today be significantly enlarged.

The protocol would give individuals direct access to the Human Rights Committee, which would be set up under article 28 of the covenant when it came into operation.

The Australian Government has given no indication that it will sign or ratify the important protocol, or even that it will participate in the complaints procedure outlined in article 41 of the covenant. Instead, the Government has its own Human Rights Act introducing unnecessary variations on the terms of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and apparently denying the individual the benefits of both of the complaints procedures provided in the covenant.

The Government has thus substituted its own judgment both for that of the General Assembly of the United Nations and also for that of the United Nations Human Rights Committee. In doing so it has provoked opposition which human rights advocates regard as largely irrelevant, placing the blame on the Government.

Mr Johnston has summed up the situation in the following words: "Australia is lagging behind in the ratification of the human rights covenants and no local legislation can ever put us in the

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## AN ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE IMPERIAL ORGANISATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICES



Her Imperial Highness Princess Ashraf Pahlavi. The Princess works tirelessly for the welfare of the sick and needy. As President of the Women's Organisation of Iran and the Iranian Human Rights Committee and Deputy President of the Imperial Organisation for Social Services and the Iranian National Committee for the Campaign against Illiteracy she is actively engaged in a wide variety of projects for the improvement of health and education services in Iran.

## Welfare, medicare network extends across Iran

The welfare of the sick and needy has always been a matter of great concern to His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah and under his guidance and that of his sister, Her Imperial Highness Princess Ashraf, an organisation called the Imperial Organisation for Social Services has spent the last twenty seven years working to combat poverty, ignorance and disease.

Established by Imperial decree in the difficult days following the end of World War Two the IOSS was the first welfare organisation in the long history of Iran. Its aim, as stated in the statutes of its foundation, was "to raise the level of health and education among the poorer classes of the population."

To fulfil this aim the IOSS has created a vast network of hospitals, clinics and maternal and child health centres; established its own pharmaceutical factory supply medicines at low cost; set up one of the largest publishing houses in the world to print the millions of books it distributes free among schoolchildren; started the country's foremost vocational training centres; rebuilt villages wiped out by earthquakes and floods and given generous support to a variety of other welfare organisations which have come into being.

Health has always been the prime concern of IOSS and the organisation has tackled the problem of raising health standards from all possible angles.

In the early days priority was given to remedying the acute shortage of medical facilities. Since its establishment, the Organisation has built three major hospitals with more than 600 beds; several smaller hospitals, 255 rural clinics and 140 maternal health centres. More than 70 million patients have been treated at these institutions. Extension of these facilities is now being carried out according to a new plan drawn up this year. The plan divides the country into a number of zones each of which shall have a complete network of medical facilities on four levels. Each zone shall have one major hospital which will provide a total range of services. Under each hospital there will be an aid station, under each station 4 clinics and under each clinic 3 rural dispensaries.

## Hospitals

The largest of the IOSS hospitals is the 250-bed Reza Pahlavi Medical Centre in the suburbs of Tehran. The function of the hospital was formerly limited to the practice of curative medicine. Under the new IOSS health plan the Reza Pahlavi has been turned into a major research and training centre as well. With the help of experts from Johns Hopkins University in the U.S.A. the IOSS is training doctors and specialists in all branches of medicine. At the same time the number of departments at the hospital has been expanded. These departments include pediatrics, gynaecology, surgery, heart treatment, cobalt therapy, neurology, intensive care and a maternity ward. The hospital also operates a mobile clinic which tours outlying areas.

The second hospital established by the IOSS was the 260-bed Nekui hospital in the holy city of Qom in the heart of Iran. This hospital has recently been enlarged and now contains wards for internal diseases, surgical cases, maternity, gynaecology, pediatrics, heart patients and ear, nose and throat. It also has a large radiology department, a blood bank, a casualty department and a family planning unit. Included in the Nekui hospital is the 60-bed Hedayati Maternity Home added in 1969 and a 50-bed children's hospital built by local philanthropists in 1971.

The third largest hospital is the 100-bed Farah Pahlavi hospital opened in the Caspian resort of Ramsar in 1962. A new complex of buildings has just been added to this hospital. There are now wards for internal diseases, surgical cases, gynaecology, paediatrics and casualty and dental departments.

In 1971 another hospital was opened at Baskia-Kurab near Lahijan in Gilan. Named the Ahmad Qavam hospital after the philanthropist who built it, the hospital has 25 beds for surgical and gynaecological cases. Steps are being taken to expand facilities.

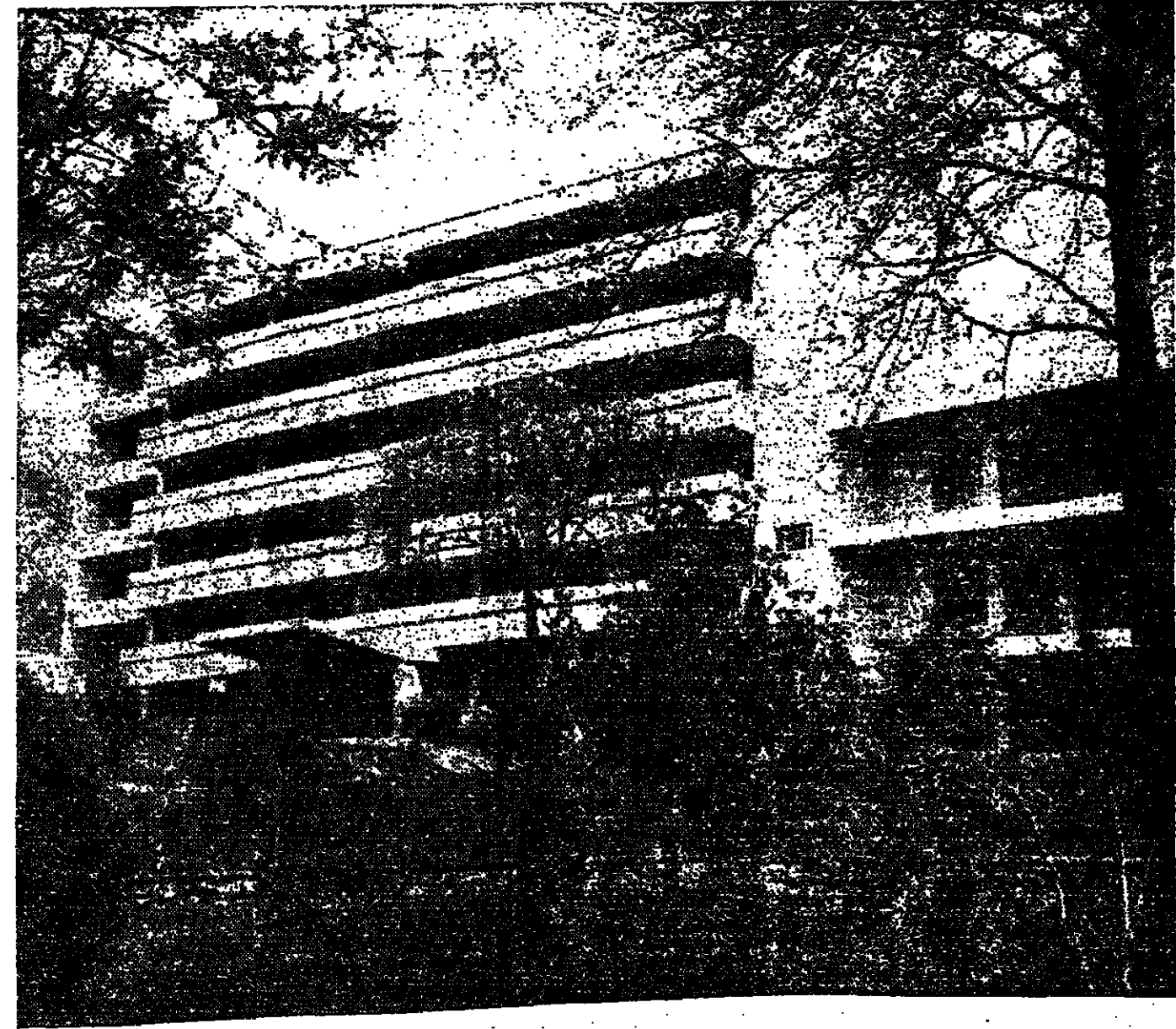
Other smaller hospitals belonging to the IOSS include a 25-bed unit at Ashdian in the Central Province and 10-20 bed units in Shushtar, Golpayegan, Davarabad (Garmsar), Sarakhs on the Russian border and Qeshm Island in the Persian Gulf.

To date 3,515,234 patients have been treated at these hospitals and over 370,000 surgical operations have been performed.

Another hospital rebuilt by the IOSS is the 150-bed Sina emergency hospital in downtown Tehran which has been donated to Tehran University and is now run by members of the University Medical Faculty.



A young boy learns a trade at the Reza Pahlavi Vocational School.



The Reza Pahlavi Hospital in Tehran.

An even more significant achievement in creating a network of health services in a vast country which contains 67,000 villages scattered over difficult terrain was the building by the IOSS of 255 rural clinics, providing free treatment and free medicine to hundreds of thousands of villagers who had never seen a doctor before. Over 65 million patients have been treated at the rural clinics. Their services are complemented by 140 maternal and child health centres which provide free food and care for mothers and babies. To date over 5 million mothers and children have been cared for by these centres and 2 million kilos of dried milk have been distributed.

In addition to providing basic medical services the IOSS clinics and MCH centres also make an important contribution to higher health standards through education of the rural population in hygiene and cleanliness. Knowing that the best way to tackle health problems is at their source the IOSS places great stress on cleaning up of the environment through the laying of piped water networks, the construction of modern bath-houses, abattoirs and mortuaries, strict sanitation control of shops and restaurants and through health inspection of school children.

The most important of its preventative measures has been an energetic inoculation campaign against prevalent diseases such as smallpox and cholera. Over 60 million inoculations have been given free of charge to date. A number of highly specialised health projects have been carried out with great success. The most noteworthy was the eradication of trachoma in the town of Dezful in south Iran where 9 out of every 10 people were suffering from this terrible eye disease in 1949. The campaign was conducted on two levels: direct treatment of trachoma victims and a massive town cleaning drive which resulted in a virtual tearing down and rebuilding of the town.

Other specialised IOSS health projects have included aid to the blind and rehabilitation of lepers.

The IOSS role in improving health standards is not limited to direct action in the field. Careful consideration of the problems has led to a wide network of supporting services without which the total programme could not operate effectively. Hospitals and clinics are not much use without doctors or nurses but when the IOSS was set up the number of these was sadly inadequate. Training of medical and paramedical personnel, therefore, has always been a key feature of IOSS activities. Iran's first school of nursing, the Princess Ashraf School of Nursing was set up in 1949 to provide free nursing training. The school has trained 1,400 Iranian girls as nurses so far and several hundred others are taking the 3 year course at present. Nursing aides are trained at the Farah Pahlavi Behyari Institute established in 1962 and the Reza Pahlavi Behyari Institute opened in 1968. To date 162 aides have been trained at Ramsar and 89 in Tehran. As mentioned earlier doctors and other medical specialists are being trained at Reza Pahlavi Medical Centre.

## Pharmaceutical factory

Another problem tackled successfully by the IOSS has been the high and sometimes prohibitive cost of foreign imported medicines. This problem was solved through the foundation of an Iranian pharmaceutical manufacturing unit, the Darupakhsh Company established with an investment of 1 billion rials and now the largest drug producer in the Middle East. Equipped with the most modern facilities the Darupakhsh factory has been steadily expanded until it now makes 260 different products. Its newest division is a unit for the manufacture of pills for injections. Since it opened in 1963 Darupakhsh has made and distributed 800 million tablets and capsules, 60 million injections, 10 million tins and tubes of ointment, 2 million bottles of liquid oral medicine, 1 million bottles of eyedrops and 800,000 litres of intravenous fluids annually. Besides supplying IOSS requirements the Darupakhsh factory also sells its products on the local market, a factor which helps to stabilise medicine prices in general.

In 1972 the IOSS took its pharmaceutical programme a step further with the establishment of an Iranian Centre for Research in the field of Chemistry and Pharmaceutical Sciences. Formed to reduce Iran's dependency on foreign suppliers of drugs and medicines, the new centre will eventually produce many of the basic raw ingredients at present imported and hopefully develop new medicines of its own.

Another example of the IOSS broad approach to health problems is its vigorous family planning work. A traditionally high birth rate with resultant pressures on the poor has long been an obstacle to improved public health and the IOSS lays great emphasis on the importance of reducing the size of the family in the interest of the mother and children. Family planning sections have been set up at all IOSS clinics throughout the country and

staff are being specially trained to acquaint parents with the advisability of birth control as well as to instruct them in birth control techniques. Pills and IUDs are being given free of charge.

## Book publishing

IOSS activities in the field of education have been concentrated in two fields: the provision of free textbooks for schoolchildren and the establishment of vocational schools. Since starting its book programme in 1957 the IOSS has distributed 160,924,590 free textbooks among elementary students at Ministry of Education schools. To produce these books as cheaply as possible the IOSS founded the 25th Shahrivar Press which is equipped with offset and letter press printing shops and binding departments. With an annual output of over 50 million books and magazines a year the press is one of the biggest in the world.

## Vocational training

The IOSS vocational training programme was started in 1963 with the establishment in Tehran of the Reza Pahlavi Vocational School to train skilled and semi-skilled workers urgently needed by the nation's growing number of industrial enterprises. Last year similar schools were opened in Isfahan and Shiraz and more are planned for other regional centres in the future.

In addition to these programmes the IOSS has contributed to education through the construction of two student dormitories for Tehran University, the provision of grants for needy undergraduates and generous cash donations to various educational institutions. It has donated 250 million rials to the Aryamehr Technical University and 30 million rials to the Jundi Shapur Medical College; it also contributes 30 million rials a year to the Women's Organisation of Iran for educational projects.

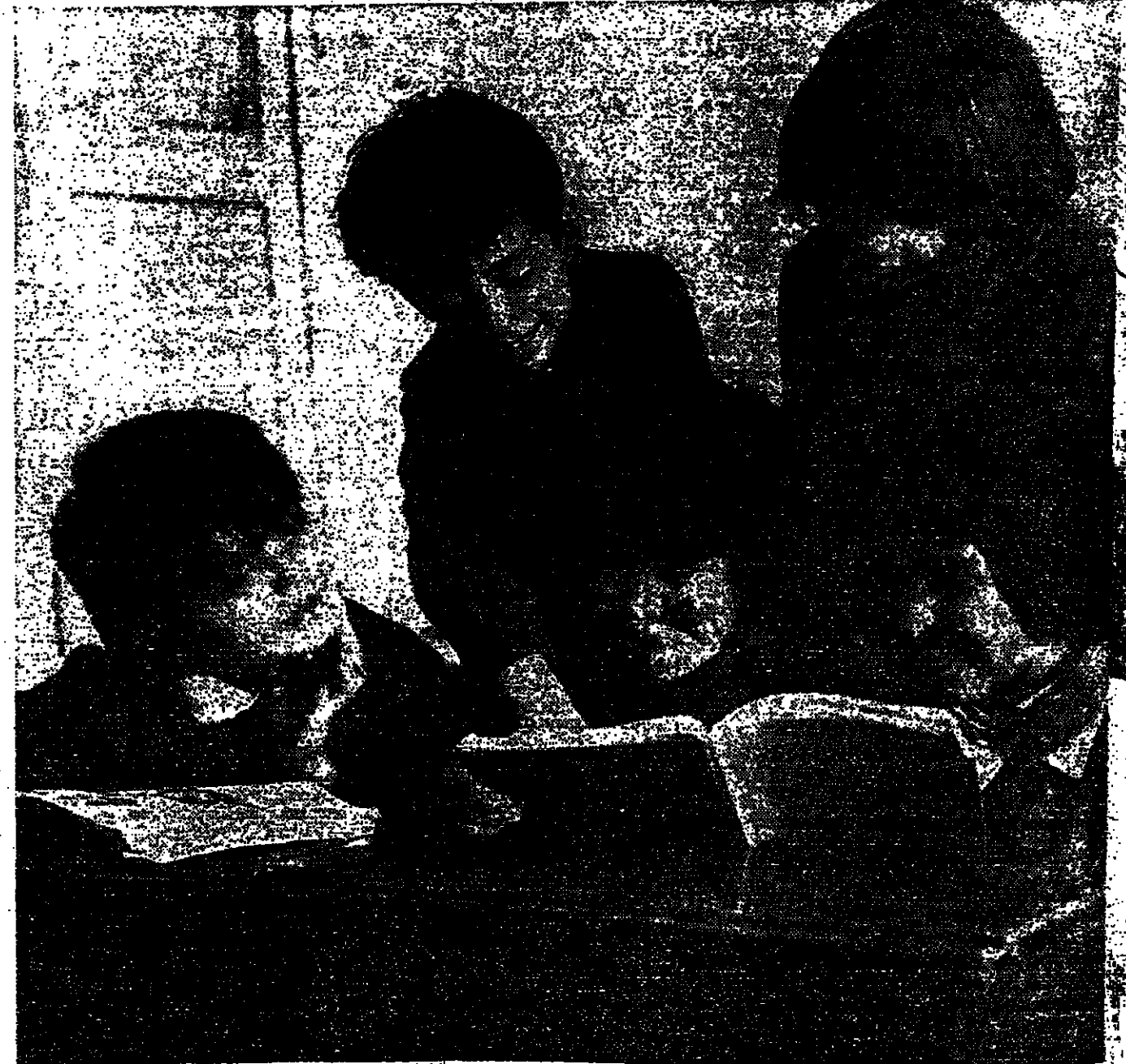
A special fund is reserved for urgent relief work after natural disasters such as earthquakes and floods. Thousands of victims of these natural catastrophes have received food and bedding provided by the IOSS. The organisation also undertakes rehabilitation programmes. Forty families who lost their homes in the Qazvin earthquake some years ago are now living in IOSS houses in the village of Vallahad.

The Organisation's concern for the welfare of the sick and needy does not stop at the boundaries of Iran. Though its primary commitment is to improve health and education at home the IOSS has also contributed to a number of worthy causes abroad, including the hungry of Africa and flood victims in Pakistan.

In all its activities the Imperial Organisation for Social Services receives inspiration and guidance from Her Imperial Highness Princess Ashraf. Besides playing a very active part in the planning and supervision of IOSS projects the Princess is able to coordinate these programmes with those of the other organisations in which she is involved, particularly the Iranian Human Rights Committee, the Iranian National Committee for the World-wide Campaign against Illiteracy and the Women's Organisation of Iran.



An IOSS doctor examines a young patient at one of the 25 rural clinics built by the Organisation in rural areas.



Primary school children with free books supplied by the Imperial Organisation for Social Services.



A STATEMENT BY THE IRANIAN COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS  
AND THE IRANIAN WOMEN'S ORGANISATION

# CONTINUING THE CYRUS TRADITION IN HUMAN RIGHTS



Former U.N. Secretary General U Thant welcomes Her Imperial Highness Princess Ashraf to a meeting of the U.N. Human Rights Commission in New York.

Two thousand five hundred years ago Cyrus the Great went down in history as the first world leader in human rights. He ruled the Persian Empire with wisdom and tolerance based on the belief that all human beings, whatever their race or creed, are entitled to freedom and justice. A similar conviction inspires the leadership of modern Iran. The Shahanshah's spectacular reform programme, the White Revolution, with its redistribution of land, its workers' profit sharing schemes, its equity courts and its development, health and literacy campaigns are positive proof of the Sovereign's dedication to the principles of human rights.

To reinforce his reform policies the Shahanshah set up in 1963 a special Iranian Committee on Human Rights charged with protecting the new rights of the individual and with carrying out research into ways in which Iranian laws may be amended to achieve complete fulfilment of the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

Supreme President of the Committee is Her Imperial Highness Princess Ashraf who, as President of the Women's Organisation of Iran and Deputy President of the Imperial Organisation for Social Services and the Iranian Committee for the Worldwide drive against illiteracy has done much towards securing maximum rights for the individual.

In recognition of her services in the field of human rights Princess Ashraf has twice been elected as president of major human rights meetings in recent years first at the International Conference on Human Rights held in Tehran in 1968 and later at the 26th session of the U.N. Human Rights Committee held in 1970.

The Iranian Human Rights Committee, which is composed of a Secretary General and 15 members is engaged in two types of work (a) direct action in the field and (b) study and research leading to the drafting of recommendations to the government.

Main projects in the field have been the construction of a Human Rights Village and the construction of 32 schools in different parts of the country. The village, which has been built near the city of Ahwaz, in Khuzistan, in a region badly hit by floods in 1969, contains 72 housing units, a bath, store, primary school and village hall and has its own water and electricity supply.

Of the 32 schools 19 have been built in other flood stricken areas, this time in the north west province of Azarbaijan. Ten other primary schools have been built in West Azarbaijan and two more in Khorassan in the north east of the country. The first Human Rights secondary school is being constructed on United Nations Street in Tabriz, Azarbaijan, and several more are planned for the future. The results of the second part of the Committee's work

—study and research—are less tangible but will be of far greater importance ultimately. Teams of researchers are engaged in a careful study of Iranian legislation as far as it affects human rights while others are being sent throughout the country to see how the laws are enforced and to investigate reported violations of human rights. On the basis of these surveys recommendations are made to the government regarding ways in which laws and their implementation can be improved. Emphasis is being placed on family relations and the rights of family members viz-a-viz each other and a special family relations sub-committee has been formed to study the subject. Through its campaigning on a number of rights issues the Committee has been successful in influencing legislation, as in a recent case where its recommendation led to the abolition of a law under which a person could be imprisoned for debts.

Another important task of the committee has been the promotion of public awareness of the principles of human rights. This has been done through radio broadcasts, seminars, conferences, study courses and the publication of various books, pamphlets and a quarterly bulletin. Thousands of copies of the International Declaration on Human Rights have been distributed among schoolchildren, workers and farmers all over the country and two books have been published. The first, a book in English entitled "Iran and Human Rights" was brought out on the occasion of the International Conference in Tehran in 1968. The second, a book in Persian on "The Iranian Human Rights Committee" was published just before the 1970 session of the UN Human Rights Committee. The quarterly bulletin features articles on the latest developments concerning human rights both in Iran and in other countries as well as the translated texts of international human rights documents. The quarterly is used by a great many people, particularly university students.

A large popular audience is also reached through a monthly programme on human rights broadcast by Radio Iran. The programme includes human interest stories, information on specific rights, such as equal pay for equal work, and advice to listeners on the best way to secure their rights.

As one of the first national human rights committees to be established, the Iranian Committee and its work are of great interest to rights workers in other countries. Iran in turn follows international human rights activities closely and is a keen participant at international conferences, particularly the UN Human Rights Committee of which the Iranian government is a member. The Iranian Committee has established relations with many other human rights organisations round the world such as the International Institute of Human Rights (the Rene Cassin Foundation).

## Dawning of a new era for Iranian women

When His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah launched his White Revolution reform programme in 1963 a new era dawned for the women of Iran. Given new freedom under the reforms, Iranian women were not only given an opportunity to play an active part in the progress of the nation but were told they had to. His Imperial Majesty pointed out in an address to a large crowd of jubilant feminists that while women had been granted certain rights for the first time, including the right to vote, they had also taken on new obligations; they must prove themselves worthy of their new status by working hard.

After a period of reorganisation of existing women's societies, of which there were many, a central Women's Organisation of Iran was set up in 1966 under the leadership of Her Imperial Highness Princess Ashraf to channel women's energies in the most useful directions. The Statute of the WOI, as finally approved in 1968, lay down four major aims for the Organisation.

- 1) The achievement of a higher status for women in social, economic and cultural fields and the promotion of a new awareness of women's rights and duties.
- 2) The rendering of assistance to Iranian women to help them fulfill their social obligations in particular their important duties as wives and mothers.
- 3) The coordination of women's activities in economic and social fields and the drawing up of plans for women's contributions to the war against illiteracy and other educational and cultural activities.
- 4) The establishment of relationships between the women of Iran and the women of other countries to promote international solidarity among women.

The Women's Organisation of Iran has three types of members; individual members, affiliated associations and honorary members. The regular individual members, who now number over 15,000 in 197 branches throughout the country are women who have reached the age of 18, are Iranian citizens, enjoy a good reputation and have been elected by the Organisation as members. Affiliated associations are eligible societies which fulfill certain

requirements and are engaged in work which will further the aims set by the WOI; and honorary members are people who have performed some outstanding service to the WOI or to the women's movement in general.

WOI activities are directed by an executive consisting of three bodies, the General Assembly, the Central Council and the General Secretariat. The General Assembly is composed of representatives of the WOI branches and of the representatives of affiliated associations and meets once a year to decide on general policy. The Central Council is composed of eleven members, six of whom are chosen by the Supreme President, Princess Ashraf, and five elected by the General Assembly. The Council's functions include approval of the budget and the administrative organisation and study and approval of the WOI codes and regulations. The Secretariat, which is the permanent working body of the WOI is headed by a Secretary General and a number of full-time staff needed for the implementation of the Organisation's programmes.

The programmes for the participation of women in the White Revolution are drawn up on the basis of research undertaken by nine working committees of the WOI; the Legal Committee; the Educational Committee; the Family Health and Welfare Committee; the Working Women's Committee; the International Affairs Committee; the Arts and Culture Committee; the Societies and Memberships Committee; the Girl Students' Committee and the Public Relations and Publications Committee.

The members of these committees include social scientists, teachers, university professors and other highly qualified people, some of whom are men. In planning the important thing is experience and competence, not sex.

Directed by the programmes drawn up by these committees women all over Iran are engaged in teaching illiterates, organizing arts and crafts classes in rural areas, giving legal advice and family planning counselling and looking after children.

These activities are largely carried out at 68 welfare and community centres established by the WOI in



As the women's movement grows more and more Iranian girls are taking up careers like these nurses at the Princess Ashraf School of Nursing.

different parts of the country. The centres perform four major functions.

- 1) Education. Classes are held on a variety of subjects from simple reading and writing to public health and nutrition. Particular emphasis is placed on vocational training to help women earn a living through some special skill. Nursing, sewing, and various handicrafts are taught on a wide scale.
- 2) Family planning. The WOI centres give counselling on birth control techniques and distribute free pills and IUDs. The WOI works closely with the public health services in this.
- 3) Care of children. The centres run nurseries and day care kindergartens for the children of working mothers.
- 4) Legal aid. WOI counsellors give advice on women's rights in relation to marriage, divorce, child custody and working conditions and help women with problems in these directions.

Teachers and social workers, health experts and legal advisors working at the 68 WOI centres are given training at one of two colleges run by the Organisation; one a college for the training of family advisors, the other a school for teachers and social workers. The graduates of these special courses in turn organise classes in the villages for the training of local women as teachers and advisors. The result is a snowball effect, with more and more women being gradually pulled into the network.

Meanwhile at WOI headquarters in Tehran more theoretical work is done. Study groups are constantly engaged in evaluation of WOI policy and in drafting new programmes for the future. A special research group studies Iranian legislation as it affects women's rights and campaigns for changes wherever the law falls below the ideal. Many of the recent amendments to the laws governing division of property and child custody after divorce are the outcome of WOI campaigning.

Another WOI committee is engaged in publications and public relations. It has published a series of handbooks for women advising them of their rights.

Through participation in international conferences and seminars and exchanges with women's groups in other countries the WOI shares its experiences with fellow women throughout the world. The Organisation is a member of the International Council of Women, the International Alliance of Women and the Associated Countrywomen of the World. It is also a firm supporter of the U.N. Committee on the Status of Women.

## War on Ignorance

### The work of the Iranian Committee for the Worldwide Campaign Against Illiteracy

In the early 1960s one of the biggest obstacles to progress in Iran was widespread illiteracy. Nearly eight million Iranians between the ages of 10 and 45 could neither read nor write.

One of the key features of the bold, imaginative reform programme launched by the Shahanshah in 1963 was the formation of a Literacy Corps, an "Army of Knowledge" that would sweep through the countryside teaching the people. Over 150,000 young men and women have served in this Corps since it was established.

The idea fired the imagination of leaders and educators round the world. On September 8th, 1963, the education ministers of 86 countries, representatives of 19 United Nations-affiliated organisations and delegates from the Vatican gathered in Tehran to show their support for Iran's efforts to wipe out illiteracy. UNESCO subsequently named the day "International Campaign Against Illiteracy Day" and a new world movement was launched. In Iran the Shahanshah ordered the establishment of an Iranian Committee for the Worldwide Campaign against Illiteracy. The Monarch himself accepted Presidency of the committee and his sister, Her Imperial Highness Princess Ashraf, was made Deputy President.

The committee's aims are two-fold; to use all power and resources, whether human or financial, to combat illiteracy in Iran; and through its experiences at home to help in international campaigns of a similar nature.

The first two years of the Committee's activities were devoted to the operation of pilot projects and the careful evaluation of the results of these. Trial education programmes were organised in Qazvin, Shiraz, Tehran and the oil regions in south Iran and teams of education experts appointed by a special Study, Research and Statistics Centre were sent to observe the classes and test the students who completed the courses.

The primary consideration of the Committee in these

early stages was to develop the kind of course which would achieve literacy in the widest sense. The Committee was aiming for something more than instruction in the mechanical ability to decipher strings of words and reproduce them. It demanded that successful students be able to understand what they read, to express their own thoughts in simple sentences easily understandable to others and to be able to use this new facility to broaden and improve their lives.

In addition to the 33 text books which it designed and published the committee also launched a weekly newspaper for new literates. An eight page paper entitled "New Days", it started with a circulation of 15,000. Today it is printed in more than 150,000 copies and widely read by workers and farmers who obtain copies through Rural Cultural Houses, Rural Cooperatives and schools. 30,000 of its subscribers are people who have just learnt to read.

Having achieved such success with its basic literacy programme the Committee has developed its activities further, designing special education courses for other organisations to implement. Some of these continuous adult education programmes are being run by the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, the Ministry of Cooperatives and Rural Affairs, the Imperial Iranian Armed Forces and the Women's Organisation of Iran.

This year the Committee has undertaken an important new project, the establishment of a National Adult Education Centre, which will develop a combined educational and vocational programme, specially designed to meet the nation's particular needs for skilled workers and craftsmen.

His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah and Princess Ashraf keep in close touch with the activities of the committee and regular progress reports are submitted to them. After two years of experiments the Committee finally

approved the syllabus and method of teaching that best achieved this end and classes were set up throughout the country. Today hundreds of thousands of new literates who have graduated from these classes have been enabled to take up new jobs and accept greater responsibility in society. Many went on from the literacy classes to ordinary schools and have successfully passed elementary and high school examinations.

The first class was opened in February 1965. Within 4 years 600,000 people had completed two six-month courses run by the Committee while more than a million others had completed introductory courses which enabled them to read and write and do simple arithmetic.

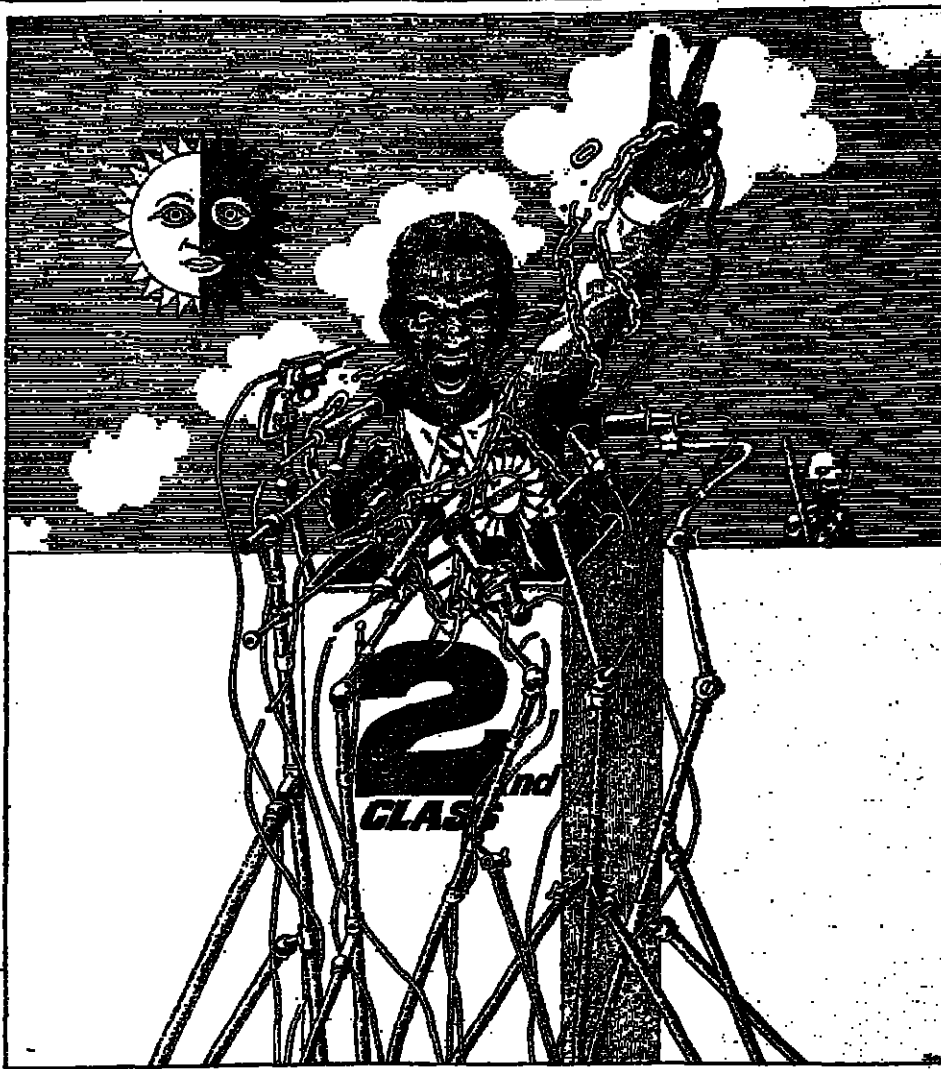
The Committee constantly reappraises its educational programme to assess the effectiveness of its curriculum. Text books for students and teaching guides for instructors are constantly upgraded and modified to suit the various population groups covered by the literacy programme.

Methods of teaching and the books used in the literacy classes differ considerably from those employed in ordinary schools. Because the literacy course is of necessity a concentrated one progressing more rapidly from one stage of learning to another and leaving out much of the supplementary lessons given to schoolchildren special methods of teaching and special books had to be prepared. Much of the Committee work therefore consists of the training of teachers and the preparation of teaching material.

The basis of study on the course is a series of books entitled "Let's Read and Write", "Let's Read and Become Literate", "Let's Read and Live Better" and "Let's Read and Speak Better" which progress from the alphabet and elementary reading and writing to the use of texts introducing general knowledge and moral values aimed at helping students to lead a more useful life and at encouraging them to take an interest in further reading and study.

hundreds of farm workers have learnt to read and write evening classes run by the National Committee for the Worldwide Campaign against Illiteracy.





Article XXI

(1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.  
(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.  
(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections, which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

## Even in the West governments represent biggest threat to freedom of expression

by Michael Scammell

Most societies and most political systems claim either to have established freedom of expression or else to be moving towards it, maintaining simultaneously that their press is independent. In the United States, for instance, the right to freedom of expression is embodied in the First Amendment to the constitution, while Soviet Russia's constitution, which has served as a model for most other communist constitutions, also guarantees its citizens freedom of expression.

The words are the same, but clearly they mean different things in different places, and the problem can be resolved only by reference to John Stuart Mill's classic distinction between "freedom from" and "freedom to".

In the United States the press is guaranteed "freedom from" government interference and is expected to behave as a "fourth estate"; but in Soviet usage the press is in no sense free from government control (though it might perhaps be said to be free from "bourgeois control", but is held to be "free to" advance the interests of the proletariat—as interpreted by the Soviet Communist Party. It is not free to advance anyone else's interests, however, nor the proletariat's interests as in-

terpreted by anyone other than the party leaders.

In general the press and radio and television in communist countries are regarded primarily as sources of power and only secondarily as providers of information. For this reason they are assigned flatteringly important positions in the social hierarchy, while agitation and propaganda ("agit-prop") are given a high priority. In exchange for the privileges this brings they are expected to submit to rigid control by the government.

It would be a mistake, however, to overlook the differences that do exist between the various communist countries, or the fact that within each country the media are usually in a transitional state, moving either towards or away from relatively greater freedom of expression. True, the limits within which this movement takes place are usually narrow (the variations being defined by the placing of the limits), but there are considerable differences between the guardedly "free" (and officially "uncensored") press of Poland today and that of neighbouring Czechoslovakia or East Germany.

Similarly, the Soviet press under Khrushchev was somewhat freer than it is now, while Yugoslavia, from the

early sixties until two years ago, was a model of what can be achieved by a Marxist government.

In the recent controversy over the eight Belgrade philosophers whom the League of Communists wanted to remove from their university posts, some prominent European socialists even referred to "Marxist freedom of expression" in their appeals to President Tito.

However, what happens when the press in a communist country too obviously exceeds the limits laid down for it was vividly illustrated by the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968, after the press had played a leading role in the democratization of the country. Meanwhile it is still the dark ages for press freedom in Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania (in Europe), for all the communist countries of Asia, including China (which even seems to be travelling backwards, if that is possible), and, after a brave experiment, for Cuba in the western hemisphere.

It might seem from this as if press freedom had something to do with ideology and was linked to the old opposition between communism and capitalism, and it is true that Lenin provided a persuasive ideological rationale for control of the press. But the picture is immensely more complicated than that. Iran calls itself capitalist and is an aggressive advocate of free enterprise economics, yet it possesses one of the most tightly controlled and rigidly censored presses. Brazil holds itself out as a model of capitalist development for the whole of Latin America, yet press censorship is an openly acknowledged tool of government and sets an entirely different kind of pace for the rest of the continent.

Spain, Greece, Turkey and, until recently, Portugal, are all capitalist states in which the press has been tightly controlled, while the looking glass "free world" of South Korea, South Vietnam and Taiwan do not differ greatly from their communist opposite numbers in their attitude to censorship of the press. And if we look at Chile, the Marxist Allende would seem to have been a far greater doer of press freedom than his capitalist successor, General Pinochet.

It is plain, therefore, that we must look elsewhere for the key to freedom of expression, and I would suggest that the true distinction must be sought in terms of economic and political pluralism. True freedom of expression flourishes in relatively restricted areas of the globe and is usually to be found (no great surprise, this) in parliamentary democracies—in most of West Europe, in North America, in the former British dominions of

India, Australia and New Zealand, and in Japan.

The outstanding omission here is South Africa, where freedom of the press is virtually non-existent for blacks, and for whites is seriously curtailed (and is threatened with further curtailment after Mr Vorster's election victory). Even here, however, the outcome of the struggle is not a foregone conclusion; and indeed, a great question mark hangs over almost the whole of Africa, where ex-colonial countries are struggling to reconcile the imported institutions of their former conquerors with older traditions.

Similar problems beset most of South-East Asia and Central and Latin America, and these are the battle-grounds on which the struggle for press freedom is being fought. Again, it is those states that have established, or preserved, a pluralist political order that have been most successful in defending freedom of expression.

Generalizations of this kind force one to paint in broad strokes, and most of the qualifying detail has to be omitted. One complicating factor that cannot be side-stepped is the rise of the mass media. Newspapers (not to speak of television programmes) are expensive things to produce, and as the necessary technology becomes more complex so does

the demand grow for ever larger amounts of capital.

In developing countries, the number of people or institutions with the necessary means is strictly limited, and the usual sources of finance can be boiled down to three categories: political parties, wealthy individuals or groups of individuals, and foreign capital, particularly from West European or American communications groups.

The presence of all three in a country is usually a sign of health, but all three have their problems. Political parties, particularly if they attain power, have a tendency to suppress their rivals when conditions are ripe (as in Zambia or Tanzania) and put both them and their newspapers out of business.

Wealthy individuals with both the means and the desire to invest in the press are few and far between, and they tend to be absorbed into the political establishment. Foreign-owned newspapers or agencies, although often bringing with them valuable experience of imperialism and professionalism, are always vulnerable to the charge of serving foreign interests and frequently (for example in Argentina) fall foul of nationalist passions.

Another difficulty is that even a pluralist press is open to the charge of control by a narrowly defined, self-perpetuating oligarchy whose members' interests are identical, so that apparent diversity

is only a sham. This charge is recognized to be the most influential and powerful medium of communication yet invented, and as such is held to be too potent an instrument to be allowed out of the control of government. In this respect, although the analogy cannot be taken too far, television, in relation to the political power, stands roughly where newspapers stood two centuries ago.

It may be objected that this is a simplification of the complex arrangements for television that have been worked out in various countries, and indeed it is. In the United States, for instance, and in a number of United States satellites in Latin America and Asia, commercial networks exist apparently independently of the governments concerned.

But, if one examines the licensing arrangements involved, it is quickly apparent that in principle the system bears a strong kinship with the licensing of newspapers in England up to the end of the seventeenth century, and their freedom is the freedom to make money rather than political or religious propaganda.

The reasons for this are complex. They have something to do with the problems of finance. There is also the question of monopolies, for most television services are either complete or quasi-monopolies, and in most parliamentary states commercial monopolies are outlawed. But above all it has to do with power. Television is universally

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the sort of freedom now for granted by the world. So what, if any, future for free speech three quarters of the globe is in the struggle for a whole range of political freedoms and not readily be separated from them.

In communist countries the dictatorship of the proletariat will wither and yield to a diversity of political and economic power, bringing freedom of expression with it, or will institutionalize it, and remove the desire for that freedom. In the latter case, the present dogmas will be refined to meet the new technological and economic changes, or else a loss of will will set in and they will succumb to the temptations of authoritarianism.

As for the Third World, they will follow the paths that seem most successful from among the two. And if it is objected that this is too Eurocentric, too parochial, a view, one can only say that freedom of expression is a parliamentary concept, and the Declaration of Human Rights the product of European history.

The author is the editor of Index on Censorship.

## International law has scarcely come to terms with mass papers—much less broadcasting

by Cedric Thornberry

Voltaire's dictum, "I detest what you say, but will fight to the death for your right to say it", expresses a metaphysical faith in humanity, reason and aspiration. It is not always clear today how such a concept, protecting the dissident pamphleteer, can be adapted to press and television.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights sustains the standard. For Western Europe, article 10 of the Human Rights Convention contains a detailed provision. It guarantees the right to freedom of expression, which right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers.

The licensing of radio, television and cinemas is permitted, however, and the right made subject to various

limitations. These include restrictions necessary for national security, the protection of private and family life, home and correspondence, and with the implications of the article guaranteeing a fair trial (no prior judgments by the press). It may also have to be read in association with articles on peaceful enjoyment of property (in the context of police search and seizure operations), and with more general articles on abuse of rights by individuals and of powers by governments.

Many deem freedom of expression the primordial right, even among basic rights, the hallmark of the open society. The United States Supreme Court has a vast and illuminating jurisprudence on the First Amendment (freedom of the press). It has emphasized that this amendment protects the pre-eminent right in democracy, the condition precedent to the enjoyment of all other rights.

In this context, it is paradoxical that proceedings in the European Human Rights Commission should themselves be held in camera. The reason is that governments would not have permitted the development of the commission on any other terms. Though explicable, the limitation could undermine the ideal itself. Without an informed European opinion the jurisdiction of the commission could be brittle, easily destroyed at governmental displeasure.

The European Convention on Human Rights is the most successful of the Universal Declaration's offspring. Drawn up under the aegis of the Council of Europe, it came into force in 1953 and has now been ratified by almost all the members of the council. It states that its purpose is "to take the first steps for the collective enforcement of certain of the rights stated in the Universal Declaration".

In addition to the main convention five protocols have come into operation. Two of them committing states ratifying them to guarantee further rights not included in the original convention. The convention provides for an elaborate machinery of enforcement, the most important aspect of which is the establishment of a Court and a Commission of Human Rights, which sit in Strasbourg, to ensure the observance of states' obligations towards their citizens. The striking and original feature of the convention is that it allows individuals (as well as states and organizations) to petition the commission with allegations of a breach by their

government of its obligations towards them. If the commission, which consists of many members as there are countries subject to the convention, finds the complaint to be initially admissible (most are not), it embarks on a complicated procedure of finding out the facts. This may involve a hearing in which the state against which the allegation is made are represented.

It is also concerned to try to effect a friendly settlement between the parties. If this fails, the commission prepares a report, which contains its decision on whether it considers that a breach of the convention has occurred. The report goes to the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe and to the state involved. Either the case may be then referred to the European Court of Human Rights, by the commission or the state, or the final decision can be left to the Committee of Ministers which could then, if it confirms that violations have occurred, put pressure on the culpable state to take appropriate remedying action.

When a case goes up to the court (so far only a dozen or so have reached that stage) there will again be a hearing followed by a decision which, unlike that of the commission, will be binding. The court may also award damages to an injured party, and, probably more importantly, may by its decision in effect call on the state to change those laws or conditions prevailing which led to the complaint being made. Some countries which have ratified the convention have not accepted the jurisdiction of the court, in which case the Committee of Ministers is the only possible final arbiter.

Unfortunately there are no sanctions to back up a decision of the court or of the ministers. At that stage the issue becomes political rather than legal. In one case, Greece preferred to leave the Council of Europe rather than submit to decisions against it. Nevertheless, in all but its final stage, the protection of human rights under the convention is supervised by independent legal and judicial control without political considerations having any say.

The institutions created by the convention, for all the cumbersome procedures governing them, have proved to be of considerable practical effect and influence. Indeed, the only other major regional convention—encompassing most American countries in both hemispheres—has fed on the European example and drawn heavily on its experience.

The American Convention on Human Rights also provides a complaints procedure for citizens complaining of an infringement of their basic rights, based on the European pattern, and involving a commission and a court. The commission, however, has more to do than its European counterpart, for in addition to the adjudication of complaints it is required actively to promote human rights, by making recommendations to governments about their conduct and requesting them to report on their progress. The Permanent Arab Commission of Human Rights (an offshoot of the Arab League) is purely promotional rather than judicial, although a procedure for the settlement of complaints is envisaged eventually.

One of the few pre-United Nations organizations which has proved effective in promoting civil liberties is the International Labour Organization (ILO), formed in 1919. The main emphasis is on the body of rights connected with employment.

Much of its work is taken up by the preparation of conventions and recommendations on specific topics which, when passed by its assembly (which uniquely consists of representatives of governments, organized labour and employers) and ratified by its member states, become binding on them. Well over 100 conventions are in force today, for a varying number of states. The six conventions which deal more than any others with human rights issues, such as forced labour, freedom from discrimination, have been ratified by most member states.

The ILO's method for supervising the implementation of these conventions centres around the regular reporting by states on the measures they have taken to adhere to the conventions. These reports are examined by an independent committee of experts who would then comment on them and submit their views to the

activity has continued, however, in the Council of Europe. Progress has been slow. An imaginative conceived symposium on human rights and mass communications was held at Salzburg in 1968. Its report emphasizes the international nature of the problem. The mass media, international law has scarcely come to terms with the mass circulation newspaper, much less with the issues raised by broadcasting.

The British press is understandably nervous at the inroads possible law of privacy could make on its democratic role. The tendency towards official secrecy does not abate, and the function of an independent press is thereby enhanced.

Law in Western Europe is attempting to resolve these conflicts, but the current British debate seems isolated from the international discussion.

Italy, the Teletel case, which awaits a decision on admissibility, may raise important issues about state television monopolies: the applicant asserts a breach of freedom of expression arising from the official closure of his cable-television company.

Britain, other issues are raised. This case arose from the successful obscenity prosecution in 1971 of the *Little Red Schoolbook*. After several hearings the case was admitted last month by the commission for investigation. The publisher and the British Government being required to produce further evidence on the merits in compliance with the commission's provisions on "friendly settlement". The application may still be dismissed by the commission at any stage.

The issues touch on the use of "search and seizure" warrants by the police under the Obscene Publications Act, and the adequacy of legal definitions of obscenity, among other things. Allegations of political discrimination have been dismissed as being manifestly ill-founded.

Contesting the case, the British Government emphasizes the right of the state to limit freedom to protect the morals of teenagers. The matters now under inquiry by the commission, so to the heart of some conventional guarantees, and, as in many such cases, may be more important than the initial publication itself.

Yet major areas of European dispute on expression have still not been referred to the commission. Aspects of official secrecy, the "conspiracy" to corrupt public morals, concepts of the *Ladies Directory* and Kneller cases, last year's dismissal of Irish television governors, customs seizures of books—these are some of the areas of freedom of expression which may risk call but still unlitigated.

It is at least arguable that Britain may be expected to risk. There is no p of freedom of the press tried by law. The commission's danger of c limination, unillumined discussion of fundam

The European com could provide a suit tached forum. It is b for instance, that is b unrelated to freedom press, the right no close journalistic sou incidentally claimed challenged in the sion. It is to be h British Government n decide to accept the sion's jurisdiction c right of individual on a permanent b bringing Britain i with some of its n lightened European hours.

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## Enormous influence of Universal Declaration not matched by successful UN action

by Marcel Berlins

The internationalization of human rights did not start with the United Nations Universal Declaration of 1948. But that document has dominated the human rights scene for the past 25 years. With few exceptions agencies today concerned with the protection of rights on a regional or world front base their own principles on it.

In some cases the wording is followed almost verbatim. Other organizations have adapted the principles to conditions governing the area they serve, or have extended, or sub-divided them. But the source remains the same.

The enormous influence which the words of the Universal Declaration have had has not been matched by the world body to see that they are adhered to. The declaration was supposed to be the first step in the creation of an international machinery for the protection of human rights. It was not designed to be binding.

The second step involved drawing up covenants, which would impose legal obligations on signatory states; the third stage was to be the establishment of a machinery for enforcement.

In 1966, two covenants were agreed on by the General Assembly (a single one having proved impractical): the first on economic, social and cultural rights, the other on civil and political rights. But these covenants have not yet come into force because the necessary minimum of 35 ratifications from member states have not yet been received.

The machinery for implementation provided for a system obliging states to report regularly what they had done to carry out their responsibilities under the covenants to a human rights committee, which in turn could eventually have the matter raised before the General Assembly. This procedure has not yet come into operation, but it would not amount to anything like satisfactory legal control over a member state's behaviour.

The ultimate decision on action to be taken against a defaulting state would have to be taken in a political or a judicial forum. The same is true of the various United Nations commissions and sub-commissions dealing with particular aspects of human rights.

The European Convention on Human Rights is the most successful of the Universal Declaration's offspring. Drawn up under the aegis of the Council of Europe, it came into force in 1953 and has now been ratified by almost all the members of the council. It states that its purpose is "to take the first steps for the collective enforcement of certain of the rights stated in the Universal Declaration".

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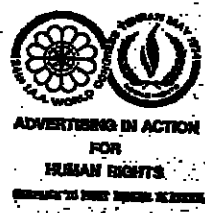
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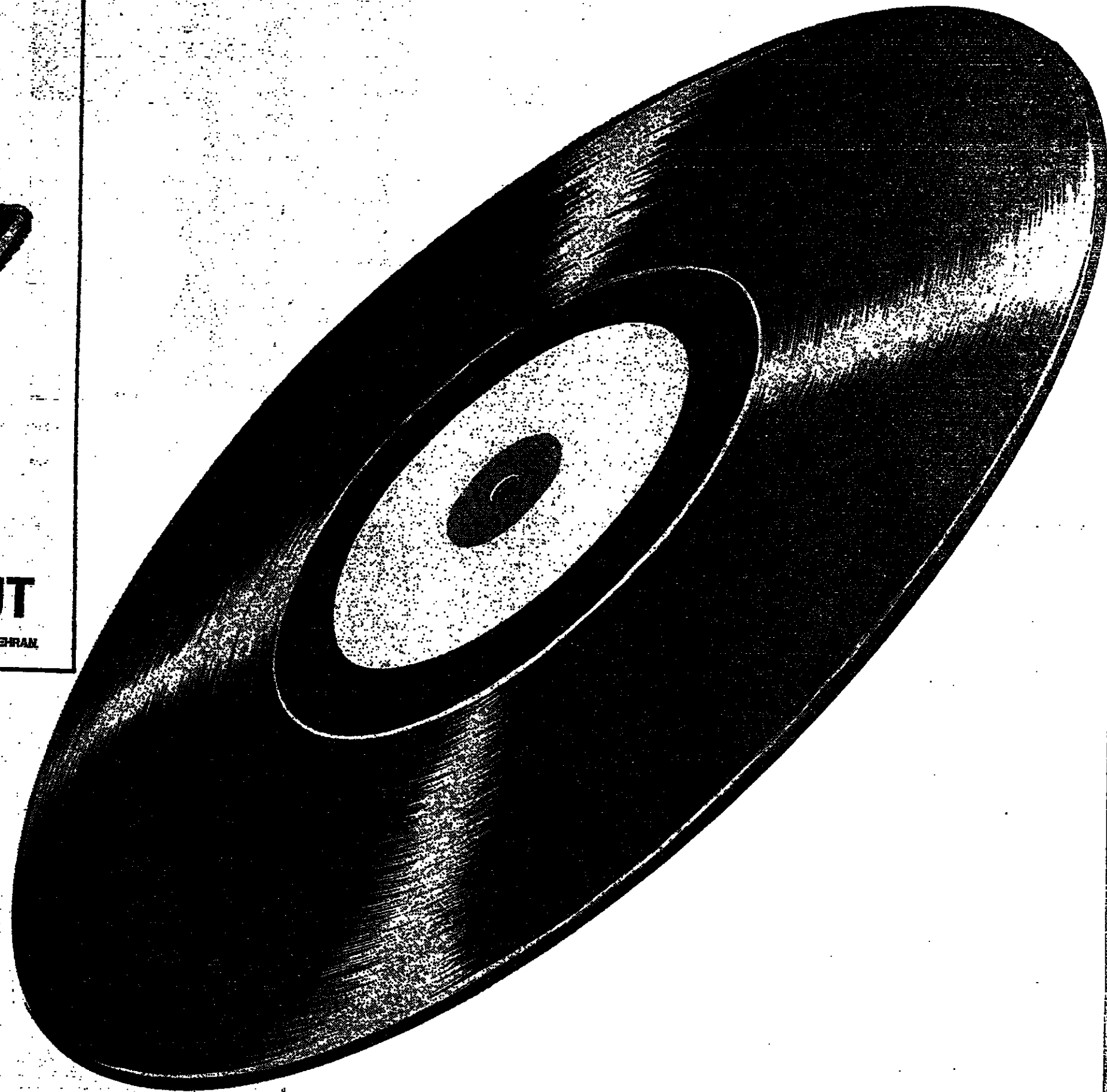


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# ADVERTISING IN ACTION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

On the occasion of the International Advertising Association's 24th World Congress in Tehran, May 23 - 25, with the theme "Communications in the Service of Human Rights", the IAA Iran Chapter wishes in practice to live up to this theme. Thus, an extensive advertising campaign is being launched to raise funds for helping those suffering from famine or disease. Elsewhere in this issue, two of the posters of this campaign are shown.

The funds collected will be channelled into a blocked account (number 79997) in Bank Melli Iran (National Bank of Iran), from where contributions will be passed on via the United Nations to help alleviate those suffering.

A special piece of music has been composed and a poem written to mark the occasion of the above-mentioned Congress. The well-known Iranian composer and conductor, Mr. Ali Rahbari, has been inspired in his creation by the theme of the Congress. The Congress Song has been recorded by the Vienna Radio and Television Symphony Orchestra together with the Choral Group of the Ministry of Culture and Art of Iran and two famous Iranian singers.

This recording will be put on sale on the Congress Site and simultaneously in a large number of stores throughout Iran. The poem will be translated into other languages and the recording will soon be on sale in other countries also.

The proceeds of the sales of this recording - on which there will be no maximum price - will be deposited into the above-mentioned account.

Should anybody wish to contribute to this cause, donations may be sent directly to the Bank Melli Iran marked "Advertising in Action for Human Rights", and the IAA Iran Chapter will be happy to acknowledge such contributions by sending the donors a recording.

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Vertical text on the right margin, likely a list of names or a contact list, partially cut off.



Joseph A. Volpe

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HUMAN RIGHTS

THE TIMES TUESDAY MAY 21 1974



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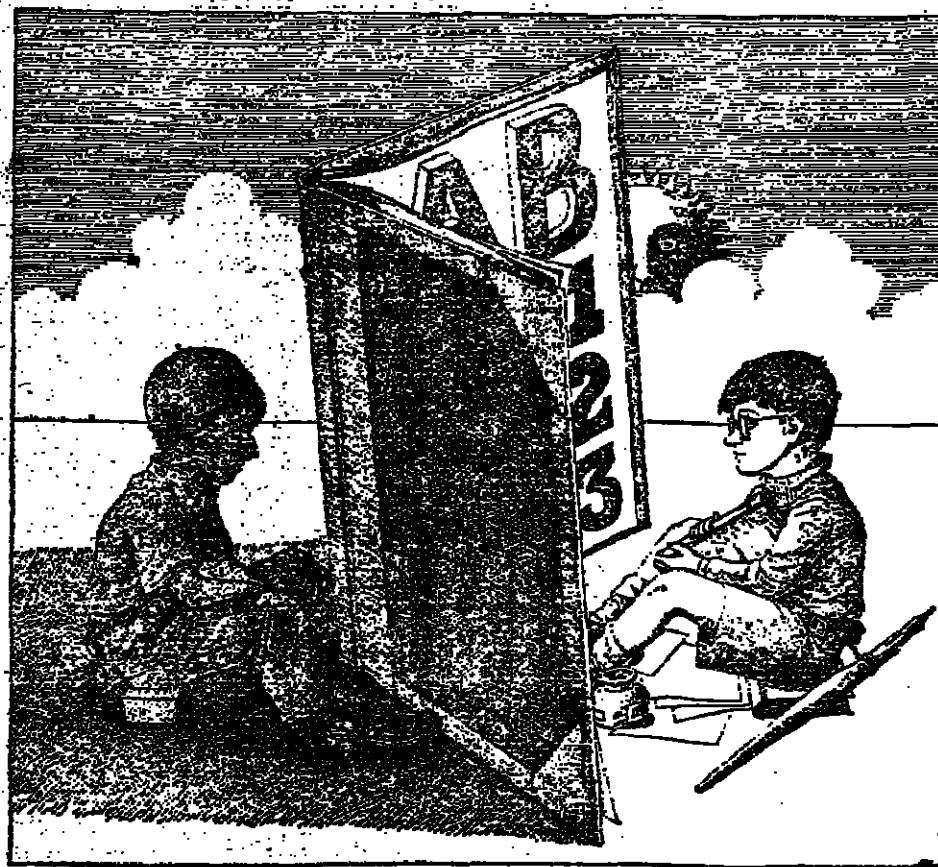
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**Article XXVI**  
(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.  
(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.  
(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

## Worldwide perspective unites teachers of the new discipline despite their discord

Eric Thornberry

Though their intellectual achievements may remain unimpaired, the development of hard political and legal minds has lagged behind their vision. This was especially true of the universal level, at the United Nations where the work was in many ways more disappointing. However, during the 1950s there were remarkable developments in the Council of Europe, through the European Human Rights Convention. Overseeing, Mr. René Cassin, a French pioneer from the early United Nations days, devoted his large body of international law to the establishment of the International Human Rights Institute in Strasbourg.

In the United States, well supported courses now exist at Berkeley, Harvard, Columbia and elsewhere. UNESCO is studying the nature of the human rights faculty at the United Nations. For instance, there were a human rights faculty at the United Nations, an adjunct of the Economic and Social Council, was to be created. It was to be a body of experts, to be drawn from governments to take part of its mandate more seriously, by examining the complaints of those denied their basic human rights throughout the world. Specialists began to lay emphasis on making international treaties standards effective. The Scandinavian governments launched their unprecedented international human rights campaign against the Greek military junta before the European Human Rights Commission in Strasbourg. This case, which from some viewpoints also represented an unprecedented failure of the new machinery, inaugurated the new and still unfolding era in which the commission has been presented with a series of cases touching upon basic issues of state rights and human freedoms.

Finally, an event of great national and European importance, Britain at last accepted the right of individual petition to Strasbourg. Henceforth, the aggrieved citizen could have his claim of denial of human rights decided not by a British but ultimately by a European and international standard.

For myself, associated with these new developments in Britain, the catalytic experiences were part British and part international. Questions of race, Northern Ireland, and other questions in the late 1960s seemed to invite the application of fresh standards—standards which might be more satisfactory than those then available in Britain.

A newspaper correspondent came in—and at one time deported from—the colonels' Greece, and as a participant in the subsequent Candian case in Strasbourg, I had been sharply reawakened to the need for the existing international machinery. Above all I was aware of the vast problems of making that machinery effective. Many omissions in the traditional academic treatment of international law and relations had become apparent, and these underlined a number of possible misconceptions. For me, the Lauterpacht aura, so strong at Cambridge in the 1950s, was still strong.

There is still discord among teachers of the new discipline. The various courses have varying emphases. This seems both useful and creative, provided there is agreement on certain basic premises. What gives unity is the international perspective.

The subject of study is the rudimentary common law of mankind in his relationship with state authority. The sources of such law are manifold: treaties, the case law of international tribunals, the practice of international organizations, the tenets of philosophy, expediency and custom. Constitutional dogma and internal case laws are of some, though uncertain, value by way of analogy. The very different context in which domestic laws and courts operate must continually be borne in mind.

The danger, with such diverse sources, is that standards may be so vague, so imprecise, as to become mere generalities. Discussion, without an adequate frame of reference, may be so broad and unstructured as to verge upon self-indulgence, beyond intellectual acceptability. Yet no law can be an instrument of mathematical certainty. Legal education must include the encouragement of discussion about possible court judgments in a national situation.

The amount of positive law now available to student, advocate, judge or academic, seeking to apply an international human rights standard is immense and can be overwhelming. In the area of those human rights which touch upon social rights, a tribunal could be almost engulfed.

It might be referred, not only to more than 130 multilateral treaties concluded under the International Labour Organization, together with their body's practice and dispute settlement; but to more than 6,000 cases decided over the past 20 years by the European Human Rights Commission. Not to mention the decisions of national tribunals purporting to apply the European Convention; to the treaties and practice of the United Nations and its various agencies; and to the work of the supervisory authorities applying the European Social Charter.

Only then might the international tribunal refer to decisions of domestic agencies enforcing, against national perspectives, internal laws. The immensity of international human rights law material is probably not even now known to the majority of international lawyers, not to mention those whose legal specializations are internal. Communist and developing nations may see other priorities than the lawyers of liberal capitalism. Neither should dismiss the other's standpoint. Yet one of the most difficult exercises for the teacher steeped in one society's values is to present those of another which may be quite alien. But if the discipline is to have any pretension to universality, the attempt must be made. Because the differences exist there is a marked tendency towards regionalism among countries of close cultural backgrounds.

Thus, most European courses, after dealing with the historical origins of the subject, and emphasizing the diversity of its ideological

They establish a universal catalogue of basic civil and political, economic, social and cultural rights. Neither is yet in force. Britain has not ratified either. But the study of this subject encourages the long view of history as well as the perception of short-term gains. Did not the crudest form of chattel-slavery surely the most blatant denial of human rights, prevail in all areas of the world for millennia, until the relative yesterday of abolition?

Common, limited agreement is possible. But cultural differences are also real. Communist and developing nations may see other priorities than the lawyers of liberal capitalism. Neither should dismiss the other's standpoint. Yet one of the most difficult exercises for the teacher steeped in one society's values is to present those of another which may be quite alien. But if the discipline is to have any pretension to universality, the attempt must be made. Because the differences exist there is a marked tendency towards regionalism among countries of close cultural backgrounds.

Thus, most European courses, after dealing with the historical origins of the subject, and emphasizing the diversity of its ideological

sources, treat developments in the United Nations and its specialized agencies, before homing in on the detailed practical experience of the European Human Rights Convention.

The student must be apprised of the differences between national and international societies. The importance of this is clearly seen when considering questions of effectiveness, how law evolves, agencies and structures, including the role of non-governmental organizations, which substitute in international society for the absent organs of law creation and enforcement.

It may be important to encourage the student to evaluate the underlying forces affecting the law's development, because they so intimately affect what the law is and will be in a concrete instance. He should perceive the difference between this and other international law: there is little immediate state interest in creating effective international human rights techniques which, while depending often on the state for their evolution, detract from state power. This compares for example, with the law of the sea, where there is immediate common state interest in evolution and agreement.

60 members of the International Advertising Association, meeting this week at a congress in Teheran, will discuss the role played by communications in the promotion of human rights. Below, Paul J. Fabricius explains why the IAA has chosen this theme; and Princess Ashraf, twin sister of the Shah and patron of the congress, answers questions on her country's human rights policy and record

## Professional use of communications can further other than commercial causes

people may feel that to ask in fact some already done so—why IAA chose such an theme—seemingly from those who work in the various Madison Avenue firms. There is a number of valid reasons for it. It is not enough to say that it is a global context, as befits an international organization. This, since 40 people from more than 20 countries have agreed to take an active role at the congress, playing variations on this ambitious theme. Delegates from all continents and of many races will be playing their part by speaking up during sessions, but also by carrying the message home and living up to it afterwards.

Advertising is changing, particularly in the "industrialized countries" only because it is addressing an even better educated, more sophisticated and therefore more critical audience. It is also because, to an ever increasing extent, advertising is becoming a social as well as a local—also joining the ranks of the advertisers. With a few exceptions, they are generally not doing it very well, not relying sufficiently on the professionals.

These points will emerge from some of the sessions of the congress. However, the

best way to illustrate what the congress aims to achieve may be to list the sessions and to comment briefly on each.

The opening address will be given by Princess Ashraf. After this the Iranian Prime Minister will address the congress, followed by the IAA world president, Dr. Göran Tunström (Sweden). At this point of the opening session, Mr. A. Hollander (United States), chairman of the IAA board, will talk about the role of the IAA in today's marketing scene.

Main speaker at the first session will be the first prize winner of the 1967 contest, John McBride (State University of New York) on "the transnational world". Unless we adjust and adapt ourselves to interdependence, to a global community, this world will be severely impaired. To bring about a wider and fuller understanding of this issue, mass communications will have to be globally harnessed and co-ordinated.

Advertising in action for human rights is the title of the second session, which will be devoted to the presentation of two case histories: an American campaign to make foreign "guest" workers more popular, and a French campaign to help physically handicapped workers feel less handicapped. This will be an important demonstration of how creative talent, coupled with knowledge of the facts and understanding, can be employed to help overcome particular human problems.

Concurrent with the congress will be an exhibition of advertising campaigns in action for human rights—campaigns sent from many different countries using different media, sponsored or initiated by the United Nations, by governments or by private enterprise. A jury will have the difficult task of selecting one campaign to be awarded a prize given some years ago by the Irish chapter of the IAA for campaigns in the public service—now to be awarded for the third time. After the congress this exhibition may be sent round to other countries.

Lord Aylesworth, chairman of Britain's Independent Television Authority, will address the third session on transnational mass media. There are voluntary and legal restrictions on advertising to commercial advertising, but there are none on the kind of communications spread officially via transnational media. Freedom of speech is a human right, but when it is used to harm others certain limitations—preferably of a voluntary nature—may have to be

considered: freedom entails responsibility.

In the next session Professor Holbaek-Hansen (Norway), followed by a panel, will discuss communications as a two-way traffic. It is also a human right to be heard: voters, employees and consumers now want to be consulted (vide de Gaulle's participation) and do not necessarily accept the communicator's domination of the message.

Next a panel of three, an American, an Iranian and an Australian, will debate "the curse of illiteracy". They will show how people with professional experience in mass communication can help overcome this barrier to that degree of education which is a prerequisite to a better standard of living and to the full enjoyment of the freedom of choice.

In session number six, a panel chaired by an American and composed of an American advertising executive, a Danish retailer, a Greek industrialist and a French media man will discuss the question of advertising to the affluent countries: is complete freedom of choice compatible with the economic benefits of mass production?

In the following session a Dutch director of Unilever and the dean of the Iranian Institute of Mass Communi-

cations will talk about educating communications. The eventual use of mass media is common to students of advertising and to students of journalism, including radio and television, but only rarely together with their studies conducted jointly and on the basis of a common purpose—the responsible use of mass communication in the service of commerce, industry, the public sector or human rights.

The last meeting before the closing session will be devoted to the global challenge of protecting resources and the environment. An American, an Italian and a Japanese will discuss this topical and vital problem, the responsibility for which does not rest only with governments or with industry.

The onus is on each and every individual citizen in every country: human rights as well as human rights. This is largely a problem of communications. How can advertising help?

From what has been said it should be apparent that this congress will be quite different from the run of the

mill. It aims at putting across a message to the world at large as well as to those who use, create or sell advertising and to those who professionally use mass communication.

That is the significance of the congress: to show that advertising can and should be used to play a constructive role in sustaining human rights.

The author is head of the IAA advisory committee on programmes for world congresses and chapters.



**White dropouts earn more than nonwhite high school graduates.**  
**Give a damn.**  
Support the New York Urban Coalition.

Examples from three advertising campaigns that have won the public service awards presented annually by the Irish chapter of IAA: for seat belts in Britain (Young & Rubicam), earthquake relief in Iran (Faccopa), and race relations in New York (Young & Rubicam Inc.).



## Long-standing love and affection for humanity' is rooted deep in Iran's history

Times: Could Your as tell us what has been the role of the family protection law in Iran over recent years? Princess Ashraf: You are, I am sure, aware that the of human rights is up of two categories. One is the civil and political rights, and the other is the social, economic and cultural rights. The first group of is the responsibility governments, and as their lack is noted and realized by the responsible authority. But the second requires economic ex-

The recognition of women's political rights, the passage of the family protection law and the establishment of equity houses and arbitration councils for the spread of justice in both rural and urban Iran are among the steps taken to provide civil and political rights.

Other principles of the revolution, such as the nationalization of the woodlands and pastures and water resources, helped to increase the national income and to bring about a more fundamental realization of socio-economic and cultural rights.

Could Your Highness point to some of the major achievements realized in combating illiteracy?

Our campaign against illiteracy started with the establishment of the Literacy Corps. Young and educated

people, instead of spending their military service solely on learning the techniques of war, were given a short course of training and then sent to the rural areas to teach and advise how to read and write and to acquire other basic training. The response of these corpsmen received was unbelievable, and it helped the establishment of other corps, such as the Health Corps and the Revolution Corps.

The most interesting of these corps was the Girls Corps, which accepted the responsibility of educating people in villages and advising them on family planning. The organization simply cannot cope at present with the number of applications it receives.

In 1964 the National Commission for the International Eradication of Illiteracy was

formed, with the patronage of the Shahanshah. This committee, which started by opening classes all over the country, is now devoted to studying methods of teaching and preparing reading material for the newly educated. The international campaign against illiteracy started in Tehran with the convening of the education ministers' congress, where the Shahanshah delivered an important message on the subject. The creation of the Muhammad Reza Pahlavi award and another award presented by the Soviet Union to encourage individual and organizational efforts in spreading education has drawn a great number of entries from all over the world.

Iran's recent successes in taking full control of its energy resources and the increased income deriving from

this has given us a better opportunity to spread education. The royal decree of February 20 this year made the first eight years of education completely free, and starting next September all expenses for this period of education will be paid by the Government.

The Monarch has also ordered the Government to meet all educational expenses after the first eight years for those who undertake to serve the country for a specified period. Vocational education will also be completely free. The idea is that no one should be denied the opportunity for educating himself because of poverty or other reasons.

Do Iran's actions for the promotion of human rights concern only Iran, or do they have an international side to them as well?

If you look at Iranian history, it becomes clear that we have never considered ourselves separate from the rest of the world and that we have never wanted prosperity and happiness only for ourselves. The decree of Cyrus the Great was the first human rights declaration, and I see it as the start of the long-standing love and affection which Iranians have always felt for the whole of human society.

The allocation of a considerable sum of money at the Monarch's command for helping the developing countries indicates that this system of thinking is still strong in Iran.

The Shahanshah's proposal, during an address at Harvard University, resulted in the formation of the United Nations Welfare Legion. The numerous cultural and economic pacts we have with countries of various ideologies, and the understanding we have with the East and West and the Third World, all indicate Iran's interest in maintaining peace and our wish for everyone to live in a world free of fear, human rights declaration, and poverty. We shall pursue this policy on national, regional and international levels.

Considering that it is because of social traditions and customs, or even national laws, that people are denied their human rights, could Your Highness tell me if there are such instances and obstacles in Iran as well?

No doubt such instances could be found in any society. The family protection law, which was approved in 1967, cleared away many inequalities which existed in families between man and woman.

The amendment to this law which is now under parliamentary consideration will be another step in this direction.

There were provisions in our law for imprisonment for debt, but with the efforts of the Iranian Committee for Human Rights, a law has been passed forbidding any such imprisonment. There are still laws which do not exactly adhere to the declarations of human rights, with their roots in social habits, customs or traditions. Their complete abolition will need time, so that public opinion has been prepared through the expansion of culture.

In your opinion, with the widening gap between the rich and the poor nations, is the cause of human rights progressing or diminishing?

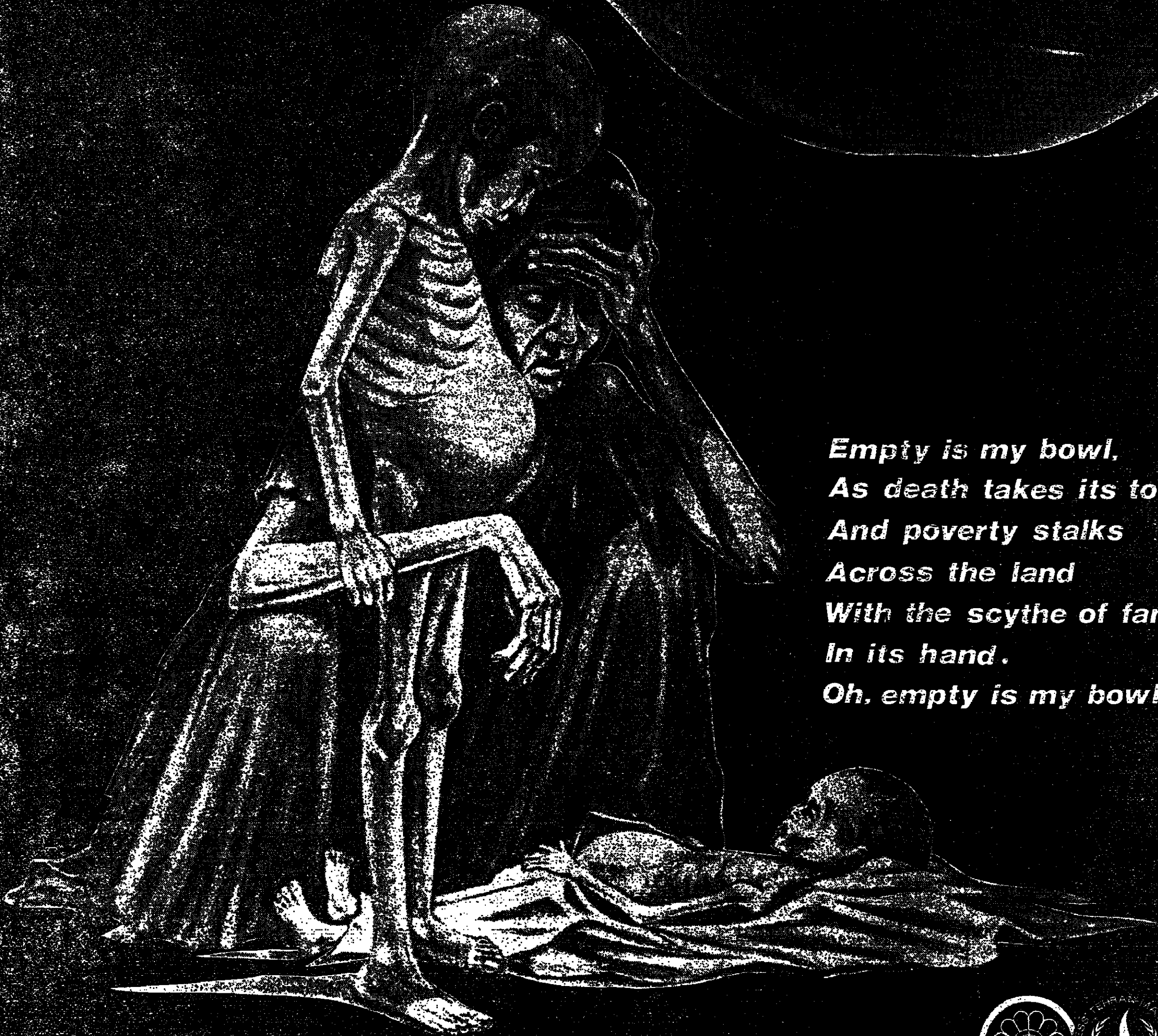
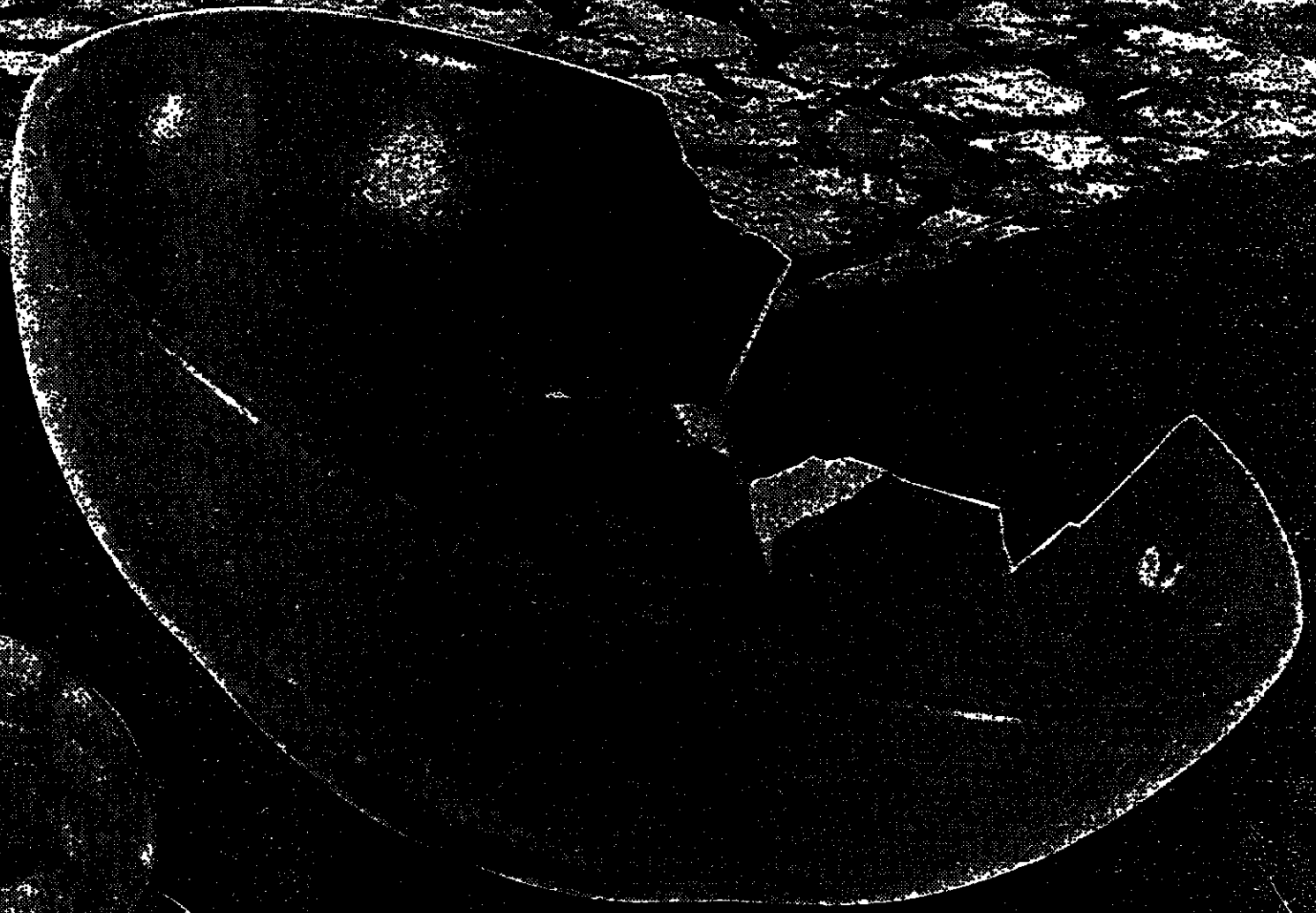
No doubt man is always on the path of progress, and

Princess Ashraf is a former chairman of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.



جولاءى ١٤٥٤

# MANY ARE HUNGRY TIME IS RUNNING OUT



*Empty is my bowl,  
As death takes its toll,  
And poverty stalks  
Across the land  
With the scythe of famine  
In its hand.  
Oh, empty is my bowl.*



ADVERTISING IN ACTION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS  
CAMPAIGN TO FIGHT HUNGER IN AFRICA

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